

A
HISTORY OF
PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE
AT THE MUGHAL COURT

WITH A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE GROWTH
OF URDU LANGUAGE

[BĀBUR TO AKBAR]

PART II — HUMĀYŪN

BY

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بادوسه در کایه از خویش رفته بودم

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HUMĀYŪN SEATED ON HIS THRONE AT ĀGRA

[From an album of highly finished portraits of the Mughal emperors of Hindūstān]

A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

PART II—HUMĀYŪN

CHAPTER I

After Bābur's death which took place at Āgra, his eldest son Humāyūn ascended the throne in 937 A. H. The court poets composed congratulatory poems of which the following chronogram was cleverly devised, mourning in one and the same breath for Bābur's death and exulting at Humāyūn's accession to the throne.

Humāyūn's
accession to the
throne.

Congratulatory
poem.

۱۔ خسروان ساء بابر که داشت
 دو صد بلند مالک ۲۔ د و ع
 ۳۔ د همایون بختیاری ۴۔
 حو طومار همیون احد کرد طے
 حو بر ۱۰۱ تاریخ اے دل بگو
 همایون بود وارث ملک وے

¹ Mirza Aliud daula Qarwini, Na'ā'is ul Ma'ā'if (abridged)
B.M. MSS., Or 1761 fol. 27a.

The king of kings Shāh Bābur who had,
 Two hundred slaves like Jamshid and
 " Kai-khusrau ";
 Muhammad Humāyūn sat in his place,
 When the roll of the latter's life was cut
 short by death ;
 If they ask the date, O heart, say,
 " Humāyūn is the heir to his kingdom."

The practice of composing chronograms on memorable occasions was rapidly gaining popularity among the writers of the Indian courts. Even poets who had migrated from Persia, Turkistān, and Trans-Caspian Provinces, were taking a fancy for same and introducing subtleties in their compositions with artful devices in the use of words and their meanings.

Another chronogram that was composed and presented to him was the following :

محمد شاه بابر شاهي
 كه خيرالاولك است اندر ملوك
 چو درم زده پادشاهي
 شمس سال تاريخ خيرالاولك

Muhammad Humāyūn, the fortunate King,
 Who is the best of kings in their line ;
 When on the throne of Empire he sat,

The year of his accession was *Khair-ul mulūk* (the best of kings)

Again when Humāyūn defeated Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī in a pitched battle at Mandsūr near Mālwa the following *qit'a* was composed to commemorate the date of this victory

ہمایوں شاہ عازی آنکہ اوراست
 ہزاراں بندہ حوں ~ ۱۰۰۰ در خور
 غمروزی حو آمد سوئے گھمراہ
 ۱۰۰۰ ر ۴ ت فطر ال تیمور
 بہادر حوں دلہل و خوار گردید (تیمور ۱۲)
 شدہ تاریخم آن دل بہادر

Humāyūn is king Ghāzi and more
 Thousands of slaves like Jamshīd him serve
 In victory when he came to Gujarāt,
 Triumphed the pride of Timūr's race,
 Bahādur when fell so low and in disgrace,
 The date was found in *zill* : Bahādur
 (Bahādur's disgrace).

Similarly when the fort of Champānēr was subdued by Humāyūn's forces the following verse was composed by the court poets in attendance

نارنج ظفر یافتن شاہ ہمایوں
 می ~ ۱۰۰۰ خرد سیاحت نہ شہر مصر بود

1 Ibid. p. 346.

2 Ibid. p. 347

The date of Humāyūn's gaining victory,
 Wisdom sought and found in ' *nuh i Shahr i*
Safar hūd ' (it was the 9th of Safar)

This chronogram is most ingeniously devised since its very words tell the date and the month, while the year is to be found in the numerical value of its letters. Such niceties in the art of composition date from the reign of Humāyūn, and were developed in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngir, Shāhjahān, and Aurangzēb.

He was born at Cābul of Bābur's first wife, Māham Bēgum, in 913 A. H., which is synchronous with Bābur's adoption of the title of Pādishāh. The date of his birth was found by many poets in their metrical compositions, of which the following is from the pen of Bābur's trusted noble Khwāja Kalān.

سال مولود ما یوں تراست

را دك الله به الى قدرا

مردہ ام دك اہ اار تار یخ ش

تا کشم میل دو چشم بدرا

It is the year of the birth of Humāyūn Shāh,
 May God increase thy rank and dignity,
 I have carried off one ' *alif* ' from his
 chronogram,¹
 So that I may apply with it collyrium to the
 two eyes of the evil.

¹ Naqsh 'Alī, Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'ānī (abridged and bound with Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir), B M MSS Or 1761, fol. 151b

² This means that the chronogram is short by 1

Short phrases also as was customary with poets on such occasions were ingeniously constructed giving the date of his birth to indicate his future greatness and kingly career. Some of these are as follows

سلطان حمایون خان	[Sultān Humāyūn Khān]
شاه فیروز قدر	[Shāh Firūz Qadr]
پادشاه صف شکان	[Padishāh Saf Shikan]
خوش باد	[Khush Bād]

In his early youth he was trained under the fostering care of his father's learned secretaries Khwāja Kalūn and Shaikh Zainuddin. His father also paid personal attention to his education and used to correct in his letters mistakes of spelling and diction every now and then.

While quite young he developed a taste for Mathematics and Astronomy in the association of Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī, Mullā Nuruddin and the celebrated astronomer Maulānā Ilyās. He seemed to have little liking for Turki and employed it on few occasions only. The rapidly dwindling influence of Turki at his court is clearly noticeable. While Bābur had tried all his life to raise the status of Turki Humāyūn in inverse ratio neglected it from deference to the feelings of the Persians at his court, as well as his own liking for Persian.

1 M. n. d. of Bābur Vol. II, p. 624.

2 Yazid, Tarikh-i Humāyūn, IO MSS No 222 fol 24b.

3 Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 223.

B. d. n. 1, Vol. III, p. 151.

The only instances of his Turki composition that could be discovered are the following

(i) A few letters that he wrote to his father

(ii) Occasional verses that he composed of which, however, no trace could be found, except of one which is preserved in his name as follows

’من که دلمل اید کلی دین کو د، نام اعدا، یاه
اوت سالی، تور حاده، رحه ناره کارک دله

The occasions on which he appreciated Turki verses were also few.

“After my presentation I offered the Emperor a small gift and a chronogram upon the conquest of India – also two *ghazals*, all of which pleased the Pādīshāh greatly ”¹

“About the same time Āgra fell into the hands of the Pādīshāh I immediately wrote a chronogram for the occasion which found much favour. The incident furnished the material for a ‘*ghazal*’ with which the sovereign was so delighted that he called me a second Mir ‘Alī Shīr ”²

¹ Nafā’is ul Ma’āsir, B M MSS, Or 1761, fol 40a

² A Vambéry, Travels and Adventures of Sīdī ‘Alī Re’īs, p 47, London, 1899

³ Ibid., pp 49-50

Even in his private conversations he used Turki rarely. On two occasions he spoke it merely with the object that his other courtiers might not understand him. One such occasion was at the blinding of Kāmran. When Ali Dost, a trusted servant of Humāyūn came to give him certain news about it with a view to take his further instructions in the matter Humāyūn was surrounded by people and this was apparently why the servant chose to communicate the object of his visit in Turki, saying

نہوایہ کسی کیسے کہے

Nobody does this work

whereupon Humāyūn abusing him said

ایہی قلتای سن خانہ بولب تو رس

What is wrong with thee do it thyself

The other occasion was when on account of the scarcity of water and the monopoly of the available well by Tardi Bēg the entire menial staff had conspired against him and made their complaint to Humāyūn. Humāyūn thereupon rode up to Tardi Bēg and spoke to him in Turki merely to avoid his being understood

1. J. near Tazkirat ul waq'at, B. M. MSS. Add. 16,711 fol. 123b.

Ibid.

by others, thereby to keep the prestige of the Khān in the eyes of those present intact

چون آب درامان... می رسید و ما را که در آنجا بودیم
 حسرت باد، که آمده عرض نمود که بر دی دیگر ما را
 و تران چون آب داد..... باد، که او را مانع نمود، الا ما
 در آنجا خواهم کرد عاید، که می خواهم بر دی یا آب میگیریم
 چون حسرت داشتند که تمام... می خواهم بر دی و او را تران
 بدو و بر هر چه آمده آمدند و بران تر کی گشتند غلامان
 خیال خوب ندارند مردم خود را یک ساله... از آب گرفتار
 مانع شد.

Since water was not being had in sufficient quantity the menial staff of His Majesty coming before him gave vent that Tardī Bēg supplied water to his own horses and camels . . . , the King should stop him, otherwise we would fight with him. At the most we might be killed or get water. When His Majesty knew that it would lead to evil, he mounted his horse and rode up to the top of the well, and said in Turki language, "the servants are discontented. Stop your men drawing water for an hour."

A similar instance occurred when a servant wished to say that a certain Mughal captive had used unworthy language in respect of Humāyūn's person, and should on that account be beheaded :

CHAPTER II

While for Turki he seems to have had an aversion, for Persian he had a special liking. He encouraged it at his court and himself employed it on all public and private occasions. His taste for Persian poetry He also compiled a 'diwān' using *Humāyūn* as his pen-name. His best poetry is to be found in his 'ghazal.'

'Ghazal' Some specimens are as follows:

غزل
 کار من نامهربان افتاده است
 در درونم آتش افتاده است
 خانه ام روشن از آرزوی دید
 پر تو از مهربانی افتاده است
 دل مرا ای جان بهر دمی که
 تا دلم با دلکش افتاده است
 کام دل خواهم گرفته تن این زمان
 چون دل بدم بر تو افتاده است
 عقل و هوش از من میزداید ای جان
 چون به دلون میبش افتاده است

¹ Abul Fazl testifies to its presence in the royal library : Cf.

و دیوان آفرینت خردخانه عالی موجود است (and His Majesty's *diwān* exists in the royal library) [Akbar Nāma, Vol I, p 368]

² Nafā'is ul Ma'asir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 39a.

With a beautiful maid my lot has fallen
 Within my heart a fire has fallen
 My house is lit with the face of the loved
 From the beauteous moon (beloved) a ray has
 fallen
 In every way my heart O life draws me
 Since my heart to a ravisher of heart has
 fallen
 The object of my heart I'll seize now
 While to my hand dizzy delight has fallen
 Sense and wit in me seek not beloved
 While Hamayūn in ecstasy has fallen

اگر از دل سو گسسته ناول :- س
 رسید بر من دل لعل : لذت العین
 ز کسب کسب عسلی اگر کند مصلی
 منسوب ناسد از اخلاص و سبوا گرم
 کرا است زهره قرب حرم عزت او
 که حریفان من به مکررم حرم
 مرا به مروت او در دلی می ناسد
 ز سانی دو جهان بهتر است درد و عین
 اگر زار ن عسلی می دهد قدمی
 هزار جان گرامی فدای هر قدمی

The arrow of his tyranny pierced my
 bewildered heart,
 My wounded heart has tasted the sweetness
 of the pang of his love

If for the killing of lovers he shows an
inclination,
It is not strange from the demands of his
generosity and sincere feeling ;
Who has the courage 'to go near the shrine
of his glory ?
When Gabriel—the trusted—is not the
confidant thereunto ;
In his love the joy of my heart grows too
great,
Pain and grief for him are better than the
joys of earth and heaven ;
If to inquire after lovers he may put a step,
A thousand dignified souls be sacrificed at
every step of his

۲۰۰۰ لعل نو بردان
آیه در میان حان
هر که مارک دمخاس رندان
بیخون از دهره و غاں
ادب در و صحن او گویند
الیه در ترسم و در دیان

¹ Literally, 'gall-bladder'

² Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, fol 39b

Cf another similar ode with but slight difference in 'qāfiya'

داع عشق تو در آغوش من -
تا آن دم جو خاک در در تو
هرکجا شایه و شهر یارے بود
خطا و معصیت من گفتم

خاتم اہل تو نہیں -
دشت نام تاجک رسین -
ایں رماں بھلا کہیں -
آپس رسد میں -

The praise of thy ruby is on my tongue
A fire is within my soul
Whoever might happen to be in the assembly
of the abandonnes
Is beside himself by my cry and lament
Whatever they say in the praise of his
beauty
All is contained in my expression and
comment.

۱- خوبس آنکه ما خصلت عمری ۱ : بودم
 ۲- و از سوی سر و قنات از های ۲ : بودم
 ۳- عین ممکن که گفتم رلف ترا بهرسان
 ۴- در شرح جعد رلف حوس دل ۴ : بودم
 ۵- وی سوی من که دیدی بر سید؛ چه حالست
 ۶- از جسم تا نفاکت بهمار ۶ : بودم
 ۷- در سرم ۷ : او هرگز ننگ حریف
 ۸- لب را دران حکایت بهمست ۸ : بودم
 ۹- حقا که حوس عماء و در حال وصل ۹ : بودم
 ۱۰- با دوست در حکایت از خوبس رفته بودم

Happy the recollection when the greater
part of my life I had sat in thy thought,
And in search of thy cypress like stature
my feet were sore

* م ز جان بلند اولاد علی
 شادمان یاد علی
 چون سر ولایت از علی ظاهر شد
 کردیم * درد خود یاد علی

We are from our hearts slaves to the
 progeny of Ali
 We are ever happy in the memory of Ali
 Since the mystic secret is revealed
 through Ali
 We always recalled the memory of Ali.

* یارب بکمال امان خواص گردان
 واثق دینی خواص گردان
 از عاقل حفا کار دل انگار - دم
 دیوانه خود خواص و خلاص گردان

O God with Thy plentiful grace select me
 for Thy nearness
 Make me acquainted with the secrets of Thy
 chosen people

* Farishta, Vol. I, p. 446

NOTE.—The word *ای* in the last hemistich seems to be a misprint for *او* which is more appropriate and is in accordance with the rules of prosody as saving a needless repetition of the word *ای* which occurs twice in the quatrains. But as the first reading is found in some other works also besides Farishta, the same is retained here in the text.

* Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 435 (Newal Kishore edition, 1234 A. H.).

Through my tyrannic wisdom my heart was
rent,
Call me Thy mad lover, and free me from all
cares.

ای دل در حضور یار پیروزی کن
در خدمت او صدق دل وری کن
هر تر به خیال دوست درم آیین
هر دور توصل یار پیروزی کن

O heart, reap success from the presence of
the beloved,
Burn your heart in all sincerity in his service :
Every night sit jubilant in the thought of
thy friend,
Every day celebrate a new year's day in
union with him.

۱* آدکے دہلی ہو عالم نام اہم
دوریکہ مہم نہ دینم از ہو ستم اہم
ہر مہم کہ ر د از ستم چرخ دہل
مارا جو مہم عشق ہو جائد چہ مہم اہم

O thou whose tyranny is well-known all
the world over,
The day on which I do not experience
severity from thee is severe ,
Whatever grief reaches the heart from the
oppression of the sky,

۱ Farishta, Vol. I, p 446

۲ Akbar Nūma, Vol I, p 36b

I care not for so long as I have the grief
of thy love in me

اے انکے زیادہ تو دلم باسد ساد
بی یاد تو خاطر دمے ساد ساد
روزیکہ ز یاد تو کلم صد فریاد
آہ ز من غمزداد آید یاد

O thou from whose memory my heart
gains joy
Without thy memory my soul no joy can know
The day that in thy memory a hundred
cries I raise
Come to thee of me the grief-stricken
remembrance ?

Once in his appeal to Kāmran for peace he subscribed the following verses purporting that for every drop of blood spilt Kāmran would be answerable before God on the day of judgment

ہو خون اُن قوم در گردن
ہو دست اُن جمع در دامن
ہماں بہ کہ ہر صلم راے آوری
طریق مروت بھالے آوری

1 Nafī's ul Ma'asir B M. M. 194, Or 1761, fol. 40a.
Akbar Nama, Vol I, p. 278

Of Kāmran's blunt reply to Humayūn a generous appeal
میرس ملک کی فر کٹر گردن تنگ کہ یومہ ہر لب غمخوار آید
He alone holds fast the bride of kingdom
Who k the lip of the sharp word.

[Far hā, Vol I p. 251.]

The blood of that people hangs on thy neck,
 The hand of that band is on thy skirt ;
 Better is that thou decidest on peace,
 And showeth the manner of kindness and
 generosity.

An instance of his composing *masnawī* is to be found in one of his letters which he addressed to
 'Masnawī' Bairām Khān on the occasion of the
 conquest of Qandhār :

یارِ مہر ز روی یوں کہ دل دوستاں آرو دکشوں
 کر الہ کہ یارِ شہادادیم سرِ رح یار و دوستِ حیاتِ ایم
 دستانِ را کام دل دیدیم میوۂ باغِ فتح را چیدیم
 روزِ نوروزِ دیرم آید امورِ دل احبابِ بے مایہ امور
 ان نادانانِ شہیدانِ شہادتِ یارِ مگر دہن مگر دینار
 بابِ ہمیش آعادانِ دل دھار وصالِ اوقاتِ ابرار
 کہ جہاںِ حید کے دیم گلِ رناع وصال کے چینم
 گوشِ خرم شون ز گفتارت دیدہ روشن و دیدارت
 درِ حرمِ حرم و ان ہم درِ حرم و لے مے
 وعد ازاں کہ کارِ ہند کند عزم دہانِ ملکِ مدد کنیم
 ہر در دستِ کشادہ شون ہرجہ و واہم اراں رسانہ شون
 ادبہ و واہم اردہاں ورمیں گوید آمدنِ سرِ یل آمدن
 یا الہی میسر م گرداں نو جہاں را مے خرم گرداں

Again a victory showed its face from
Invisibilty
Thst the hearts of friends cheered to see it
Thanks be to God that we are again happy
And we smile on the faces of compaoious and
friends
We saw our enemies with the object of their
heart achieved
We plucked the fruit of the garden of victory
To-day is the Baīrām s New Year's day
The heart of friends is withou a grief to-day
The heart of the dear one be ever happy
Grief may not go near to his heart, nor to
his native town
All the requisite material for comfort is ready
My heart is anxious for union with thee
When would it be that I see the beauty of
the loved one
When would I pluck the flower of the garden
of union with him
When should my ear become happy in
listening to thy speech
And my eye lighted through seeing thy face
In the sanctuary of thy presence happy
together
We sit cheerful and without a grief
After this we turn our care to the affairs of
India
Resolved to subdne the kingdom of Sindh
Every door that is shut will be opened
Whate er we wished more than that shall
we gain

"One day the emperor planned a little excursion on horse-back to visit the graves of the holy Sheikh of Lahore, and I accompanied him. We visited the graves of Shāh Qutbeddin the Pir of Delhi of Sheikh Nizām Well Sheikh Ferid Shekr-Ghendj Mir Khosru Dehlevi and Mir Husein Dehlevi. When the conversation turned upon the poetical works of Mir Khosru I quoted some of his best poems and under their influence I conceived a most telling distich. I turned to the emperor saying It would be presumption on my part to measure my powers against those of Mir Khosru but he has inspired me and I would fain recite my couplet before your Majesty. Let us hear it, said Humāyūn and I recited the following

اگر که قانع شد ملک نان پاره مرد بهترست
 کز او از - اے سامان عالم بهترست

† Sidī Aḥī Rā'is-Mirāt ul Mamālik p. 33, Lqdām Press, Stambol, 1313 A. H.

Cf Kī - see the original verses

کسی که غنی و پادشاه نظر کرد مرد مر است
 و در کتاف عدل و ک و در عدل و عدل مر است
 مرد پنهان هر گلیه پنهان عالم است
 تیغ خفته هر نیایه پنهان کفر است

Truly great is he who became contented with
his daily bread,
Better is his affair than all the kings of the
earth.

'By God,' cried the monarch, 'this is truly sublime.'¹ ”

On one occasion Humāyūn quoted Nizāmī in a letter to Prince Akbar, reprimanding him for his playing truant :

عادل مردمیست به وقت بازی
وقت بازی است و کار بازیست

Don't sit idly, 'Tis not the time for play,
'Tis time for acquiring skill and doing work.

He had also inscribed in his own handwriting the following verse of Shaikh Āzarī on a niche of the arch of his palace :

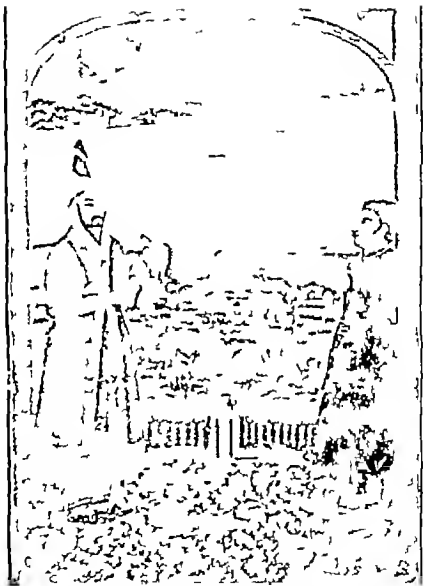
من دیده ام که برین طاق در اندود است
خط که عاقبت کار جهان است

I have heard that on this golden vault there is,
An inscription which is the end of the work
of all Mahmūds.

¹ A Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sidi 'Alī Re'īs, p 54

² Akbar Nūma, Vol. I, p 316

³ Ibid, p 363



HUMAYUN WITH HIS PET HAWK AND THE
YOUNG PRINCE AKBAR

[EXHIBIT 1911 Exhibition Allahabad]

From his own verses which include almost all principal kinds of poetry except *qasido* and *gita*¹ his position as a poet of the Persian language is clearly established. In his *rubai* and *ghazal* while behind no one he stands ahead of many of his contemporaries. The chief feature of his style is the clearness of expression which pervades all his writings, and his words are always few simple and compact.

Estimate of
his poetic taste
(fewer) than that
of an average
poet

¹ One instance of same as found in some Persian works like the *Alamdar*, p. 29 (edited by Bland, London, 1841, and the *Majma'ul Fi* 18 p 62, was as follows. This he is said to have written to Shah Tahmasp after his arrival in Persia.

خبر را هر چه تا منگامه مانی هم
تا لعل تمام را نفی کرده آمد
روز کاری منگامه کلام نامه هر گروهی
طوطی طبع مرا تکلم به آرزو کرده آمد
دعایم غیر است و صدی بخت برسی کرده بود
حکایت از دوه بعضی دوه برسی کرده آمد
دارم التماس از شاه که تا با من کند
آمد با منگامه مانی در بخت آرزو کرده آمد

It may be noted that the last line with but slight variation occurs in Bahman Fawzi's *gita* as follows:

از خدا آید دارم شاه با ما آید کند
آمد با منگامه مانی در بخت آرزو کرده آمد

Also, he is said to have sent to the Shah a *rubai*, of which only one line could be traced as under:

فغانی همه شاه که ما می خواهیم پند که ما آمده در شاه بود

To this the Shah a reply was the following:

شاه ادب سعادت پند ما آمد اگر ترا گفته در مقام ما آمد

Once during his flight to Persia, Mullā Hairatī,
 a poet of Trans-Caspian Province,
 presented him with a '*ghazal*' of which
 the opening lines ran thus

His poetic in-
 sight corrects
 Hairatī and
 Jāhī¹

گه دل از عشق و تن گه حگرم میسوزد
 و ق هر لحظه دداغ دگرم میسوزد
 همک و پروانه ده شمع سروکار است مرا
 که اگر بیدم دوم سال و بهرم میسوزد

Sometimes the heart burns with the love of
 the beautiful, sometimes the liver,
 Love every second burns me with a fresh scar;
 Like the moth I have my affair with a candle
 lamp,
 That if I go further, my wing and feather
 burn.

Humāyūn improving on the last hemistich put it
 as follows.

میزوم پیش اگر سال و بهرم میسوزد

¹ Both were notable poets of Persian language and received favours from Humāyūn. The latter having entered into his service at Cābul accompanied him to India, and remained here till his death which occurred in 956 A. H. For a fuller account of his life and verses refer Badā'uni, Vol I, pp 477—480

² Bā Yazīd, Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I O MSS No 223, fol 12b

On another occasion he improved on Jahī Yāmīn of Bokhārā, who had entered his service at Cabul. The former had composed a satire on Muhammad Khān Shāhpūr and was asked by Humāyūn to read it before the assembly in which Muhammad Khān also was present. When the poet recited the following verses

سایه عابد و خدای در گه
میرد کرم ساعی : کرم
وای انکس که دل سحر
هر که با ما : در بدلا : در

I am the poet of the king Humāyūn and am
the dust of his court.
The star of the banner of my poetry taunts
the moon
Alas for him who picks a quarrel with the
band of poets,
Whoever quarrels with us quarrels with
calamity

Humāyūn at once remarked

حرا محسن : گوئی "هر که با ما : در بدلا
" : در

Why dost thou not say so whoever quarrels
with us quarrels with God ?

1 Rastakhiz, Vol. I p. 477

2 Ibid.

He has been often referred to by Jauhar and Mirzā 'Alā'uddaula Qazwīnī as reading the Qur'ān and also quoting from memory several verses from same on various occasions. ^{His know- ledge of Ara- bic} Once on gaining victory over the Afghāns he recited the verse

إِلَهُدُّلَالَدِّي أَحْيَانَا

Praise be to Him Who brought us to life
On another occasion he quoted from the *Traditions* as follows

مَنْ حَفَرَ بَخْلًا لِلْإِخِيَّةِ قَدْ وَقَعَ فِيهِ

He who dug a pit for his brother, verily himself fell into it

Some more instances are to be found in the works of contemporary authors like Bē-Yazīd and Jauhar. They show to a certain extent his knowledge in Arabic as well as his taste for religious literature

From his very childhood he evinced a taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and Astronomy, and took regular lessons on these branches of Science from Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī, and Maulānā Ilyās.

His taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and Astronomy

¹ Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B M MSS, Or 1761, fol 37a

² Tazkirat ul Wāqifāt, B M MSS, Add. 16, 711 fol 78b

و در هم امسال فرمای عثمان نام صح ابوالقاسم
 استرآبادی که علم ریاضی را خوب میداد ب صاحب سده
 بود و حضرت شاه معصوم (ع) ابوالقاسم (بشار می
 کردند) اینکه قرار داده بودند که ساکن او شوند
 و سعی بختوانند و آخر بموجب قرار داد عمل فرمودند و
 بشار الله در - لا سناهیان درآمده درهند بجاگیر
 خوب سرقرار داد -

And in this very year the royal mandate in the name of Shaikh Abul Qasum Astrābādī who knew the science of Mathematics well had been issued And His Majesty had resolved to become his pupil and take lessons from him, and at last His Majesty according to his resolution acted And the abovenamed scientist, having entered into His Majesty's service in the rank of soldiers, was installed in a good *jāgir* in India.

Abul Fazl and Farishta write thus

در - علم علوم ریاضی او را بایه بلند بود
 و همواره به ارباب علم و ادب میداد و منتظران
 علم ریاضی در بایه سرپر والا کامیاب سعادت بودند

¹ Ba Yāzīd, *Tārīkh-i Humayūn*, L. O. MSS. 223, fol. 24b

² Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 262.

And in the branches of Mathematics His Majesty ranked high and he always associated with scientists and those distinguished in Mathematics had the boon of attending at the foot of the sublime throne.

و در علم ریاضی کتم مهارت می افراست و در صحت مش
 ما را و در ملائمت و در وقت در مجلس او مسایل علمی
 در کور می شد -

And in the science of Mathematics he lifted up the banner of skill. His social intercourse was based with the learned and the accomplished, and at all times in his assembly scientific problems were discussed.

In history he appears to have been conversant with the Muslim periods of different countries specially India, Central Asia, and Arabia. Once he related a historical anecdote of Mahmūd of Ghazni's army to serve as a lesson to his own men purporting that honesty is the key to success.²

Also, he transcribed in his own handwriting his father's autobiography 'Wāqī'āt i Bāburī' from the beginning to the end. This would have

¹ Fārishtā, Vol. I, p 459

² Cf the statement

منموت پادشاه این رعایت مردم خود اظهار کردند که نیست
 ثمره میدهد چون نیست اما صادق بود تمام قبح اردانی شد و هم کج یادت -
 [Jauhar, Tazkirat ul Wāqī'āt, B M, MSS Add. 16711, fol.
 105b]

certainly given him an insight into the social and political relations of the contemporary Central Asian States. He also developed a taste for Geography and had globes constructed for his use.

پس کرنا خاں، آب انتظام، و بے سم ربع کرد
به اقالیم، و قریع یافتہ بود

So the globes of the earth and the water had been set up and the divisions of the habitable quarter into seven regions accomplished.

His tutors in Astronomy were Mullā Nūruddin and Maulānā Ilyās. The keen interest which he took in this branch of science is significant as compared with his father's as well as with that of his successors in India. Babur and pre-Babur Mughals (with the exception of Ulugh Beg) down to his own time apparently had little faith or

His tutors in Astronomy and his interest and activities in this branch of science.

¹ Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 351

Son of Shah Rukh and grandson of Tīmūr had been appointed as governor of Māwarān-n-Nahr during his father's lifetime. He was a devoted student of Astronomy, Mathematics, and Philosophy and a patron of those interested in scientific subjects. During his governorship he got built at Samrqand an Observatory which was called after his name. He also marked the position of stars and recorded his observations in a separate volume known as *Zīj-ulugh Bey* (or Ulugh Beg's Almanac). Daulat Shah has given a glorious account of Ulugh Beg's scientific

knowledge in things astrological. He got built a 'Khargāh' (a tent) which was divided into twelve halls of audience, each of which was named after one of the twelve constellations of stars. The furniture and paintings of these halls, as also the dresses of the servants, bore emblematic symbol of the planets :

۱ وار۔ ۱۰۰ معتزعات شریعت آدم سرت خرگاہے ہون
کہ معدن نروج سپہر مشتمل در دوازدہ دودہ
ہر برج مشتمل در ہر ہا کہ اسوار کواکہ . دولہ . ار
قبہا . آن نامان ہون و خرگاہے دیگر ماندند فلک الافلاک
میں ہوا . اسن فرگاہ را امامی دودہ ہون -

And of all the inventions of His Majesty was a tent which was divided, according to the number of the zodiacs of the sky, into twelve divisions. Every zodiac was divided into cages, from the holes of which the rays of the stars of Fortune shone bright. And another tent like the ' *falakul aflāk* ' (or the sky of skies) enveloped the sides of this tent.

activities and his great achievements in the theoretical and applied Astronomy. According to him there has appeared no monarch like 'Ulugh Bēg, in the whole history of Islām [vide Tazkiratush Shu'arā—Edited by Prof. Browne Account of 'Ulugh Bēg, pp 361—6] For a description of a Calendar based on 'Ulugh Bēg's system, vide Carré de Vaux's article 'Un Calendrier Turque' in Essays presented to Professor E. G. Browne, edited by T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson.

(which was attributed to ' *falak i atlas* ') was white in colour, and the second was blue; and the third in appropriateness with Saturn was black, and the fourth (which is the resort of Jupiter) was of sandal colour, and the fifth (which is related to Mars) was of ruby colour; and the sixth (which is the abode of the Sun) golden, and the seventh (which is the resting place of Venus) bright green, and the eighth (which is the place of Mercury) is of lily colour, and the ninth circle (which is the halt of the Moon) is white. And after the circle of the moon the spheres of the fire and the air were arranged in order. His Majesty for himself adopted the golden circle, and there seated himself on the throne, and every group of people, from among those assigned to the seven planets, was ordered by his Majesty to sit in a circle (which was constructed just opposite to that planet) for instance, the Indian ' *Umarā* ' were ordered to sit in the circle of Saturn, and the learned in that of Jupiter.

۱ و از رایہ احتراعات آدمیست پوشیدن لباس
 هر دور دود موافق رنگی که مذکور است دور است
 که صومی اوست چنانکه در دور یکشنبه است در می
 پوشیدن که مذکور است و در دور دوشنبه
 لباس است که مذکور است و در دور دوشنبه

And among the excellent inventions of his Majesty was the dress for each day in accordance with the colour attributed to the planet of that day which is its patron so that on Sunday his Majesty robed himself in yellow which is attributed to the Sun and on Monday in green which is attributed to the Moon and so on

He was also preparing to build an observatory for which necessary apparatus and the ^{Materials} ~~also~~ had been provided but owing to his sudden ^{ready for an} ~~death~~ death the same could not be accomplished

و آنچه امرت را اراده هستی رصد مصمم بود و بسیاری
از آلات رصدی فراهم داده بودند و چند متصل رصد
خصال فرموده بودند -

And his Majesty was firmly resolved to build an observatory and had set up in order many of the instruments for same and had fixed in his mind a few sites as well.

All this taste he acquired in Indian atmosphere evidently under the influence of Hindū astrology which came into contact with Persian astrology for the first time under the patronage of a Mughal emperor. Like the Pandits he believed in the efficacy of the stars and their potentiality in producing good or bad results in consequence of which

¹ Ibid. p 268

he had regulated all his actions according to the supposed influence of the twelve zodiacs and the seven planets. His keenness for astronomical researches has been further described as follows by the Turkish Admiral who was himself made to work on same, and permitted to leave India subject only to the work being finished:

“The roads are flooded and impassable, remain therefore till the weather improves
Turkish
Admiral's
evidence
 Meanwhile calculate Solar and Lunar Eclipses, their degree of Latitude, and their exact date in the Calendar. Assist our astrologers in studying the course of the Sun, and instruct us concerning the points of the Equator When all this is done and the weather should improve before three months are over, thou shalt go hence”. . . All this was said solemnly and decisively, I had no alternative but must submit to my fate. At last I had accomplished the astronomical observations, and about the same time Āgra fell into the hands of the Pādīshāh.’

A. Vambéry, *Travels and Adventures of Sīdī ‘Alī, Re’īs*, p. 48 The part played by astrological terms in the development of the more ornate forms of later Persian is perhaps one of its most remarkable features

CHAPTER III

There were many foreign and Indian poets attached to his court. The following is a selected list of scholars including historians and poets of Persian and Hindi who received his patronage or actually entered his service in India

1. Shaikh Amīnullāh Panipatī
2. Shaikh Gadā : Dehlevī
3. Mir Wazīr
4. Shaikh Abdul Wahid Bīgrāmī
5. Maulānā Jalālī Hīndī
6. Maulānā binī Ashraf al Husainī
7. Maulānā Nadīr Samargandī
8. Mir Abdul Latīf Qazwīnī
9. Maulānā Ilyās
10. Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī
11. Maulānā Junūbī
12. Shāh Tāhīr Dakhānī
13. Shaikh Abul Wajīd Farīghī Shīrāzī
14. Yūsuf binī Muhammad Hīrawī
15. Khwāja Ayyūb son of Khwāja Abul Barakāt
16. Maulānā Muhammad Fazīl Samargandī
17. Jaohar
18. Bā Yazīd

19. Maulānā Zamīrī Bilgīāmi

20 Khwāja Husain Mervī

21. An unknown poet: author of an epic poem.

A short description of each is given below :

A learned Sūfī and theologian resident of Pānīpat—was one of Humāyūn's chief poets, and wrote several *gasāid* in praise of him. Sh a a k h
A m ā n u l l ā h
P ā n i p a t i, His style is comparatively simple and his poetry sweet and full of pathos. Some specimens of his composition are as follows:

مدام ار - رت آن لعل میگوں
دلے دارم - راحی وار پیروں
تو چوں لیلی مقیم مارت ناز
منم آوارہ عالم جو مکوں
گر از تن - ان - رت بر آید
زدل مہرت - واحد دیں - میروں
امانی کامران در برم - شش -
عہد - سرو دوران ہمایوں

Always in fond desire for that wine-coloured
ruby,
I have a heart like the wine-jug full of
blood ;
Thou like Lailā resideth in the seclusion
of daintiness,

1 ' Ali Quli Wāliḥ Dēghistānī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B M. MSS Add 16, 729, fol 44b

he had composed on the death of Sultān Chaghtā'i, a young Mughal chief who was a favourite of Humāyūn.

سُلطان چغتای بود گل گلشن مرہی
 ماگہ ۱-۱ شہسوی حمام راہ دہن شد
 در موسم گل عزم کرد کون اریں باغ
 دل عجب صدف در خم او عرقہ دہن شد
 تازیچہ و - از دلدل ماتم رنہ جاہتم
 در مالہ شد و گہ - گل ارباعہ دہن شد

Sultān Chaghtā'i was the flower of the
 garden of excellence,
 All of a sudden Death led him on the way
 to Paradise,
 In the season of flowers he resolved to go
 from this garden,
 The heart like the bud drowned in blood in
 his grief,
 The date of his departure I sought from the
 grief-stricken nightingale,
 It went into lamentation and said, 'a flower
 went out of the garden.'

He was one of the greatest scholars of Humāyūn's reign, and was the son of the famous poet Shaikh
 Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh of Sultān Sikandar
 Gadā'i Deh- Lodi's court. He spent much of his
 levi early life in acquiring knowledge
 and in lecturing to students of moral philosophy

interview with him.¹ He is the first notable example in the reign of Humāyūn to combine the knowledge of Arabic and Persian with that of Hindi. In Persian he wrote chiefly '*ghazal*' of which a specimen is given below :

دگر چه جان منزل غم شد گهر دل
 را میبزم منزل : منزل
 شد غافل ز حال درد مندی
 که از حال تو یکدم بیست غافل
 دل دیوانه در دلف تو
 گرفته تارم بآن سلاسل
 بجان دادن اگر آسان شدی کار
 بدوئی عاشقانه را هیچ شکل
 گدائی - ان ناکامی در آمد
 شد کام ز لعل یار - اصل

Sometimes the soul was the abode of love,
 sometimes the heart,
 I carry thy love from place to place ;
 Be not remiss to the need of one, grief-
 stricken,
 For he forgets not thee for a moment ;

¹ Cf

و چند سال مرجع اکابر و افاض هندوستان و خراسان و مازندران
 و عراق بوده

[Badā'uni, Vol III, p 76]

² Ibid.

I tied my infatuated heart to thy curly lock
I am ensnared in that musky chain
If by surrendering one's life the task would
become easy,
To lovers no difficulty would have remained
O Gada'!, life ended with failure
My object was not achieved from the ruby
lips of the beloved

I hope so much that my penitence,
May serve before thee as an excuse for my
sin.

One instance of his *qit'ā*-writing is to be found
in the following chronogram which he composed on
the death of Mirzā Kāmran at Mecca :

امیر کامران در سال
که در سال سی و یک و آن در سال
مهر و در شهر عرم چهار سال
دکلی دل از قید عالم رها شد
ز دست وقوف هیچ چهار سال
ساحرام هیچ جان به افان فشانند
چو در غراب و سی در آید شد
سایه و در و در خوش فغانند
بگردد از دهر دلت از فوت ما
دگر - نهاده مر عرم در کعبه ماند

The king Kāmran, the renowned monarch,
Who through rule...raised his head to Saturn;
Became a sojourner in the *harem* for four
years,
Freed his heart completely from the prison
of this world;
After the realization of the fourth *haj*,
In the *ihram* of *haj* entrusted his soul to the
Beloved,

When one night he appeared in Walsi a dream
 He showed kindness and called him near
 Then said if they ask thee about my decease
 Say the blessed king remained in Ka'ba.'

His poetry as seen from the above is simple and melodious and was but slightly affected by the current poetic tendencies at the court.

Like Shaikh Gadā'i he too was a Hindi-Persian poet, and a scholar of varied accomplishments. On account of constant reading and writing his sight became weak. Badā'uni interviewed him at Qannauj in 977 A H when the Shaikh on account of his old age had confined himself to his native place. His chief works are the following

1. A commentary on *Nuḥat ul Arwāḥ*¹ which Badā'uni praises as authentic.
2. *Sanghī*—a treatise on the technical terms of Sūfism.

In his last days he was much devoted to Sūfism and wrote several works on that subject. He also composed Hindi verses and sang them in Hindi tune. In Persian composition he paid more attention to *ghazal* and wrote elegant verses in same. The chief feature of his poetry as is commonly observed in contemporary writers is the frequent use of figures of speech with an attempt to create niceties in them. Once he wrote a *ghazal* with a flexible turn of phrase

¹ A work on Sūfism by a celebrated scholar Fakhrud Din Sa'adat, written in the early part of the eighth century A H at Herāt.

and fancy in praise of his dear friend named Rāja.
The opening line is worth noticing.

اے کردہ خیال بوند قلم دل ما را
هرگز بوند در دل ما میرترا را

O thou, whose thought has made its seat on
the throne of my heart,
Never in my heart is there place for other
than thee.

Another beautiful verse quoted by Badāūnī is as follows

مرو، مرو، چو اول دساح آمد
دمی، ایام، دین تا روزین برخیزم

A poet of Humāyūn's court—chiefly known for his lyric poetry and enigma-writing both in Hindī and Persian. Two of his '*ghazals*,' of which the opening lines are as follows, are specially noteworthy as serving to illustrate the tendency of average poets towards introducing original and creative ideas with flexible shifts.

Maulānā Jalālī Hindī

¹ Badāūnī, Vol III, p 66

[Note the play on the Hindī word Rāja (راجا) and its ingenious fusion into the Persian compound (توراجا) which may equally be read as (توراجا) making it a Persian-Hindī compound with a welcome shift in meaning

زاهد زحام پادشاه لعل تو شد
روے تو دہد عاشق و آتش پر = شد

The devotee got intoxicated from the cup of
the wine of thy ruby (llp)
The lover saw thy face and became a fire-
worshipper

وعدہ وصل تو اے ماسد یزدان افتادہ است
وہ کہ ایسی وعدہ چہ بسیار بہ من افتادہ است

Thy promise of union O moon, has fallen on
the Id
Oh on what a distant date this promise has
fallen!

He flourished in India under Bābur and Humāyūn
and was among the literati of their courts. He
was a student of natural science in
which he seemed to take great interest.
His work entitled *Jawāhir nūma :
Humāyūnī* which he dedicated jointly
to the father and the son is a dissertation on the

Muhammad
Ibn Ashraf
al Husaini
Rizvi

¹ *Daḡhīnān*, *Riyāz ush Shī'arā*, B. M. MSS., Add. 16 729 fol. 109b.

Ibid.

² Or 1717 B. M. MSS.

Cf. the *Introduction*.

چند گویہ معرر ای رسالہ مصد ای اعرف الصغریٰ الرسمداری
کہ فری اوقاف کہ اعلیٰ حضرت لبر القریٰ فیہر الدینی مصد ہیر
پادشاہ غلاماں ملک. تمام صلاک - ندر کن وا فر تصد لواے
مصری آسے خود فر آوردہ " ہ خود ہکتہ واجب بحیل نمرہ
کہ رسالہ ہمرہ فر باب جواہر مرتبہ ملکہ مرمع ہاقلب سلی نامی
پادشاہ و پادشاہزادگی - الم -

(*Ibid.* fol. 8a-8b.)

use and formation of precious stones and other mineral. It is divided into 22 chapters as follows :

Preface	Foll 1a-4b	A short discourse on the divisions of natural objects
Chapter I	„ 4b-11a	On 'lūlū' (pearl)
„ II	„ 11a-15b	On 'ya'qūt' (sapphire)
„ III	„ 15b-19a.	On 'la 'l' (ruby)
„ IV	„ 19a-21b	On 'zamurrad' (emerald) and 'zabarjad' (topaz)
„ V	„ 21b-22b	On 'zabarjad' (topaz)
„ VI	„ 22b-26b	On 'almās' (diamond)
„ VII	„ 26b-27b	On 'ainul hur (cat's eye)
„ VIII	„ 27b 31b	On 'firūza' (turquoise)
„ IX	„ 31b-42b	On 'pā-zahr'
„ X	„ 42b-43b	On 'aqīq' (cornelian)
„ XI	„ 43b-45a.	On 'other' stones of the same family.
„ XII	„ 45a 45b	On 'Jaza' (a kind of stone)
„ XIII	„ 45b-48b	On 'magnātīs' (magnet)
„ XIV	„ 48b 49a	On 'sundbāda' (a stone used for polishing metal)
„ XV	„ 49a-50a	On 'dahāna' (a mineral)
„ XVI	„ 50a-53a	On 'lājward' (lapis lazuli)
„ XVII	„ 53a-55b	On busud wa marjān (corals and pearls)
„ XVIII	„ 55b 57b	On 'yashab' (jasper)
„ XIX	„ 57b 58b.	On 'billūr' (crystal)
„ XX	„ 58b 59a.	On 'kān' (mine)
„ XXI	„ 59a-69a.	On miscellaneous kinds of stones
„ XXI'	„ 69a-77b	On metals

' A charmed stone said to be found in the head of serpents and is reputed as an antidote for all kinds of poison.

It was undertaken in the reign of Bābur some-time after his conquest of Hindūstān¹ and finished under the patronage of Humāyūn and presented to him.

He was a learned scholar of Arabic and Persian. He came to Āgra from ^{Maulāna} Nādirī Samarqandī Samarqand and was given a place among the elite of the court. Badāʿunī's remark about his scholarship is as follows

مولانا نادری سرقدی... از نوا در روزگار و فصل
و جامع کامل بود -

Maulāna Nādirī Samarqandī was among the rarities of the age and was a highly learned and accomplished scholar

As a poet of Persian language he built up a reputation and wrote all kinds of poetry including 'ghazal rubāʿī and qasida'. A specimen of each is given below

Ghazal

رو چه حرام است قد بار را
بنده شوم آن قد و رفتار را
بار سوسه ما نه ترجمه
داشت مگر جانب افشار را
سوسه خرابات گلزار نادری
در سر می کن سرو سوار را

¹ Vide Sopra, p. 45 fn. 2.

² Badāʿunī, Vol. I, p. 472.

Ibid.

How charming is the gait and the form of
the beloved,

I would become a slave to that form and gait ;

The beloved did not look on us with pity,

Perhaps he cherished a regard for the rivals ;

Go towards the tavern O Nādir !

Yield your head and turban to the thought of
wine.

His composition was not without subtleties which had been largely introduced in India under the patronage of the Mughal court. The following verse which he composed in praise of one Nizām, with whom he is said to have been in love, is illustrative of the popular taste and the atmospheric tendencies in the art of composition :

من دل شکسته گویم صفای نامی
که بدادش دیو مالش دل ناتوان نامی

I the broken-hearted utter the praise of the
one named Nizām,

For my weak heart did not keep order (*nizām*)
without union with him.

رگویت که یاری بدم آجا
بهر خون کجا آدم آجا

¹ Ibid, p 472

² Ibid., p 473

NOTE.—The second hemistich of the first line may also be translated as 'I swear by my life when did I get rest there ?'

دہاں دہاں سر نہاں
 تو ہودی کعبہ ۲۰ دم آنکا
 چہانی ۲۰ رم و من ماندہ محروم
 صبح مقبول و من مردوم آنکا
 حہ ہر سی نادری حونی دران کو
 گہے ناغوش گہے خوش بودم آنکا

At the top of thy lane where I have lived a
 lifetime
 When did I get rest in my whole life ?
 With the intent of prostration where er I
 laid my head
 Thou wast the Ka ba of my object there
 What dost thou ask, O Nediri how farrest
 thee in that lane ?
 Sometimes unhappy and sometimes happy
 was I there

Rubā :

۱ رنصورم و در دل از تو دارم صد غم
 بے لعل لعلت حریف در دم صد دم
 رہیں عمر ملولم من کس غریب
 خواہم سون آرام گہم کوئے عدم

Grief-stricken I am and I possess in my
 heart a hundred sorrows from thee,
 Without the ruby of thy lip I am faced with
 anguish all the moments

In this life am melancholy, I, the humble
and the indigent,
My place of rest shall be the lane of annihi-
lation.

One of his '*qasā'id*,' in which he delineated on Humāyūn's taste for Mathematics and his prepossession for science, is as follows. It is as well illustrative of the general style and the standard obtained in the art of '*qasida*'-writing

ایامه الامه که در میان خاطر
سایه اش در سینه دل در میان معاصر
گلزار دشت آگه حراق است که آید
در صورت گل و لعل عایب و زلفه خاطر
عریان در غزل خون مگر تراحم و استخوان
کز خرقه صد پاره گل و دوحه ساق
یکبار در گل و یاسمن و بنبل و ریسمان
ایمان بهار آمده ناحیل و نه اکر
مرغان صحرای شاه ملک مرتبه خوانان
در شاح در حلقان و خنایمان معاصر
حراقان معاصم شد هم قدر مایون
کش و متقوی و دل از قدرت قادر
از دایش او دادش اسرار و سیرت
وردیش او بیدیش ارباب و سایر
مهر و حرمان و در احکام شریعت

اعمال نیک و نیکو اعمال او
 جمع آمد بهر ظفر اکر اسلام
 آحاد سعادتی ز دلمراں مسا کر
 زبیر علم نعم نیکان سعادت
 ناس کرم لم یزلی حال و ناصر
 اے تا کف خود تو توام همه آسا
 نام ندم تیغ تو اعرافی و خواهر
 در روز ازل بود خداوند جهان را
 در ده وجود تو اریں خنجر دایر
 حریف اگر بار دگر وحی نبار
 در شان تو طماعی بود آیات طواجر
 جو نیکه که که لب لعل تو فرمود
 مسهر جهان شد جو دایر مدواتر
 معنی است که سرم گفتن رها می است
 ۱۱۰۱ متن تو ز اینکاد دواجر
 کس دانی شمار ترا حور کند انکار
 انکار ندیده نیک و غیر مکار
 احصای کمالات تو کردن نتوانم
 کاندل همه فلها شد کامل و ماعر
 با عقل حد اند و اعمال تو دار
 نفس ملکی نه احسان مساهر
 خود تو بنوی که در ساعت بخت
 نا خواسته دانی همه حاجات مساهر

He died in 966 A. H., and the following chronogram was written by Mir Amānī Kabli.

و ا...ما که نادری نکته دان داد
 آن نادری که داد سخن داد درجهان
 ~ تم مرم قاصد تاردهم فوت او
 گفته اخرون که رفت یکے از سره دو او

He was appointed by Humāyūn as tutor to the young prince Akbar at Cābul, after Mullā Pīr Muhammad¹. On Humāyūn's second entry into Hindūstān he was invited by the latter to come to Āgra, and on his arrival in 963 A.H., just after Humāyūn's death, was received by Akbar with marks of greatest favour and kindness.² His father Qāzī Yahyā was well-read in history and enjoyed the fame of a historian in his lifetime. He is said to have known by heart the various Muslim dynasties that ruled in Central Asia, Turkey, and Hindūstān. Hairatī, a poet of Trans-Caspian Province, eulogises his wonderful memory and historical insight in the following complimentary verse

قصه تاریخی او باید شنید
 کس درین تاردهم مثل او ندید

¹ Ibid, p 476

² Farishta, Vol I, p 466

³ Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p 19

⁴ Badā'uni, Vol III, p 97

The tale of history ought to be heard from
him

Nee in the present day has seen any one
like him.

Mir Abdul Latif himself like his father was deeply interested in history and it was probably due to his command of the subject that he received his appointment as tutor to the young prince. It is noteworthy that his younger brother Mir Alā'ud daula Qazwini, who was trained and brought up under the fostering care of his elder brother was equally a fine historian and wrote the famous work *Nafā'is ul Mafā'ir* from which both Bada'uni and Abul Fazi have derived their material for the literary phase of Humāyūn's reign.

He was a student of Mathematics and Astronomy and was unrivalled in his day for his knowledge in those two branches of science. He acted as tutor to Humāyūn and taught him lessons on Astronomy. It was due mostly to the training received under him that Humāyūn subsequently developed a considerable taste for that science. Bada'uni tells us that he was proficient in the subject and thoroughly capable of erecting an Observatory.¹ Once when he happened to visit Ardabil in the latter part of his life he wrote a letter to Shāh Isma'il II (whom Shāh Tahmāsp

¹ Cf. the statement :

موقعا البلى. که استاد هائیکو پندار و لیاقت و استعداد

رشد بهی و اقامت الخ

[Ibid., p. 181.]

had in his lifetime imprisoned in the fort of 'Qahqaha'), saying that from the confluence of stars it transpires that he (Shāh Isma'īl II) would succeed to the throne and that his other opponents would soon be vanquished. In that letter he also directed Shāh Isma'īl to visit him at Ardabil on his release from the prison so that he might put him under the right stars which would lead to his future glory and uninterrupted retention of power. But the latter, while passing Ardabil in procession, on being released by his party in consequence of the revolution which followed the death of his arch-rival Haidar Mirzā, forgot to see the Maulānā, and having gone some distance subsequently recollected the prediction and suddenly turned back and called at the Maulānā's house. The Maulānā locked the door from inside but the Shāh managed to get in by climbing over the wall. Thereupon the Maulānā covered his face and refused to see him saying that the hour appointed was gone and the opportunity lost, since the planets had just moved from their position. The Shāh then was obliged to leave, and though proclaimed king at Qazwin, yet strange to say that after a year's successful reign, he met his tragic death in a confectioner's house in 985 A.H. It was surmised that he was poisoned at night when under the intoxication of opium, in consequence of the cruelties which he had inflicted on his house and the court.¹

¹ Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, Vol I, p 517, London, 1815

He was a distinguished scholar and a favorite poet of Humāyūn. As the latter he wrote all kinds of poetry and compiled a separate *Maṣnawī* *diwān* consisting of *qasida masna'ī* and *ghazal*. He stands a contrast with his fellow poets in easiness of style and use of simple and plain language. The sweetness inherent in his poetry is hardly approached by any one of his contemporaries. He composed several *qasid* and *qit'at* in praise of Humāyūn. The following chronogram which he wrote on the emperor's death is reproduced by Jauhar as one of the finest ever written.

ہمایوں بادشاہ آن آفتابی
 کہ فتنن شامل اور عام التاد
 بنائے دولتش حوں یافت رعب
 اسان همیں از انصام التاد

¹ *Tazkirat ul Wajih 'Al*, B M MSS., Add. 15,711 fol. 144a.
 NOTE.—Mirza Ali 'uddaula Qazwini, author of *Nafis* ul *Ma'asir* quotes only three lines of which only one is common. The other two are as follows

ہمایوں بادشاہ ملک و معنی ندارد کسی چو او غائبی یاد
 زلم کمر خرد التاد تا کہ ازلی سر عزیز دل ایراد

The same is reproduced by Badā'uni, and quoted by Prof. Browne. It is noteworthy that the last line which is the chronogram of Humāyūn's death gives the year 962. But the death actually took place in 963 A.H. and the chronogram is therefore short by 1 year.

چو خورشید به جهان تاب از بلندی
 بهایان در دیار شام افتاد
 جهان تاریک شد در چشم مردم
 زلی در کار حاص و عام افتاد
 بی تاریخ او کاسی رقم زد
 "هاییون پادشاه از بام افتاد"

Humāyūn, the king, is that sun,
 Whose all-embracing bounty fell common to
 all;
 The structure of his power, when it attained
 its height,
 The foundation of his life fell from its base,
 Like the world-illuminating sun from its
 height,
 Down below at the time of evening prayer he
 fell;
 The world became dark in the eyes of the
 people,
 On the work of the high and the low confu-
 sion fell,
 For the date thereof Kāhī wrote,
 Humāyūn, the king, from the terrace fell.

Of all the chronograms composed by other poets, this is decidedly the most natural and stands unbeaten in the simplicity of style, accuracy of detail, and beauty of language. Another equally simple and suggestive chronogram which he wrote

on Kāmran's death which took place at Mecca is as follows

کامران آنکه بلا اعی را
 کس نبود سب = ۴ ر او در خورد
 سد ز کابل به کعبه و انصا
 حلی بحق داد و حق بصل سرد
 گفت تاریخ او حسن گاهی
 بادشاه کامران به کعبه مرد

Kāmran was such that for the place of king
 There was none so worthy as he
 He went from Cābul to ha ba and ther
 Entrusted the soul to the True One and the
 body to the earth
 Kāhi wrote the chronogram thus
 The king Kāmran died in ha ba '

Abul Fazl calls him Miẓān Kāhī and counts him among the foremost poets of Akbar's court. Badā'uni too though points out his certain faults as a poet, thinks him unrivalled in his day in the essential features of poetry and in the composition of chronograms. He had also associated for some time with Jāmi at Herāt, and acquired there a competent knowledge of the commentary of the Qur'ān and mysticism. In the company of Kāmran he had gone to Mecca and performed his pilgrimage. For all this Badā'uni thinks him an atheist and finds him guilty

1. Badā'uni, Vol. I p. 42.

of gross religious and moral offences ¹ It is amusing, however, to note that his composed poems were universally popular and sung even in Badā'ūnī's time in the assemblies of the Sūfis ² The opening lines of some of his odes are as follows. They are unsurpassed in poetic grace and are to be classed among the best productions.

دختر ناز که در جهان بی ست، مگر من

همور در ناز او، ناز پرور من

My relentless love has slain a whole world
with his daintiness,

Still he, the cherisher of my temper, is
carrying on his amorous playfulness

دختر ناز که در جهان بی ست، مگر من

همور در ناز او، ناز پرور من

¹ NOTE — Badā'ūnī's displeasure is probably due to the poet's acceptance of Akbar's heresies, for Abul Fazl calls him a disciple of the emperor, and also hints at his free and unorthodox life Cf —

از مذهب در اخي پراگنده چيد گرد او فراهم بودي و ما چنين دار تكي
خويش پرده آرائي، يقي خداوند خويشتن را از مريدان تو مودمي —
[Ā'in-i Akbari, Vol I, p 244]

² Cf the statement

و ايس هر دو عزل را صوتي خوب، نه که در عالم شهرة يافته در
مجلس ميشوایند و درم ملوک و اهل لوب بدان آرایش مي يابند —
[Badā'ūnī, Vol I p 452]

³ Ibid Vol III p 174

NOTE — Love is often treated by Persian poets as an ideal and then is referred to in masculine terms in the same way as Cupid is treated in English poetry

⁴ Ibid

It is not the narcissus that has displayed
 itself over my grave
 It is my vigilant eye that has in the long
 expectation of thee turned white

‘ صرغ ناپه بری من در رخ انگیز کرد
 آن سوداے لعل و سر او تیز کرد

The bird since it has started flapping its
 wings over Majnūn's head
 It has kindled the fire of his love for Lailā
 ever more

‘ حوں ز عکس عارضی آئینه پر گل سود
 گرد راں آئینه طوطی بنگردد بلبل سود

Since from the reflection of his cheek the
 mirror becomes full of flower
 If therefore a parrot look into that mirror
 she would become a nightingale

‘ در غم باران بلا برتن غم پرور ما
 چه بلا که نبارد فلک بر سر ما

The rain of distress poured on my grief worn
 body
 What calamities did the sky not bring down
 on my head !

¹ Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

The following, which is full of romantic similes and metaphors, is in praise of a handsome Yogi youth:

آتشیں رویتار - اک تر جو دنیا ویر شد
یا اب ار آتش رو - تو مرا کہ تر شد

Thy fiery face has become like a lotus through
the ashes smeared on thy face,
Or the veil through the fire of thy face got
burnt into ashes.

In a long '*qasida*'² he dwelt on Humāyūn's taste for Astronomy and the uses of certain instruments like the 'astrabe,' and 'compass' etc., which Humāyūn had collected for his contemplated observatory.

¹ Ibid

NOTE—It is still the custom of a Hindū Yogi to go about with his face smeared with dust, or ashes

It may also be observed that the similes employed here are drawn purely from Indian life and surroundings, and the verse is in every aspect Indian in its conception with the creative genius of a poet playing its part under favourable and encouraging circumstances

² This is the second notable instance to come across after Nādiri's *qasida* where the genius of a poet took a scientific turn and was spent in describing apparatuses instead of the usual praises of the court. This was done evidently to arrest Humāyūn's attention and to commend their poetry to his notice. They knew that to gain his full appreciation of their verses it was necessary to compose them according to the royal taste. This shows the extent of the influence that the individual taste of a Mughal sovereign in India could exercise over the literati of his court, as also his power to direct and mould the popular taste of the country as a whole.

He was a poet of great gifts and composed several pieces extempore in his wonted strain. Once during his illness when Khwāja Mu'azzam Khān a noble of Khairābād went, in spite of pain in his foot, to see him he recited offhand a *ghazal* welcoming the Khwāja to the latter's great astonishment. It ran thus

’ مالدی قدم زناز بروے نیاز من
 دردے مدد ہائے ترا سرو ناز من
 صر چند وصف وصل تو کردم سب فرای
 کوہ نیت قصہ درد دراز من

Thou hast stepped daintily over my needy
 face
 May there be no pain to thy foot, O my tender
 cypress
 However much I uttered the praises of thy
 union on the night of separation
 My lengthy tale of sorrow did not come to a
 finish

He also wrote a *masnawi* entitled *gul afshān* as a reply to Sa’di's *Būstān* and compiled a *diwān* consisting of *ghazal masnawi rubai* and *gasida*

Before his coming to India, he had the usual prejudice which is of interest to note in his following composition

چون سایه مهر و دواں شوی
 باشد که رفتہ رفتہ ما مهر ماں توی
 اے پیر عشق صحرایو بہ رحمتی ما
 در دہ کہ ہمچو راہیہا دواں شوی
 گاہی تو دامن چمن آرا - کابل
 راع و دامن نہ کہ نہ ہم و ستان توی

Like a shadow we accompany thee wherever
 thou shouldst go,
 May be that by degrees thou shouldst become
 kind to us,
 O sage of love, seek the society of one like
 Joseph,
 It is not strange that like Zulaikhā thou
 shouldst become young;
 O, Kāhī, thou art the nightingale which
 adorns the garden of Cābul,
 - Thou art not a *crow* and a *kite* to go to
 Hindūstān.

Soon after his arrival in India, there was a marked change in his tone which was gradually softened into the praises for the court and its literati.

He ranked among the foremost poets of Badakhshān, and entered Humāyūn's service when the latter conquered that province. In commemoration of this victory he composed the following chronogram and presented it to the emperor.

Ma ul ā n n
 Junūbi

گرفتی ساء ساعاں دوران کہ سد
ترا کار لیم و لیم
گرفتی بدخشاں و تاریم سد
د صابون س محروم

Thou art the king of kings of the age
Thy work ever ended in victory and triumph
Thou didst seize Badakhshān and the date
was found in
Muhammad Humāyūn is the king of land
and sea.

He also wrote several *qasīd* in praise of his master in the metre and style of Nizami, and Anwarī. The one quoted by Badā'uni, as being most famous and widely read runs thus

سہن ساعارخ تو لاله و نسریں لب تو حل
ہمیں ہنم لب تو طعجہ رنگیں سدہ خنداں
نبی گویم حظ تو سر و دہشاں خد تو گل
شود طاعر قد تو ننگ دوران دم حوالی

O emperor thy face is tulip and wild rose
and thy lip is life
I see thy lip a bud of resplendent hue that
has just begun to smile
I say not the down on thy cheek verdure and
hyacinth nor thy cheek a rose

Thy form shall prove to be '*the turmoil of the age*' when thou dost move.

The tendency to create subtleties in the use of figures of speech and exhaust skill at the artful devices, which is a striking feature of the later Mughal age, is also visible in his writings. In a '*masnawī*' which he composed in eulogy of his master he made use of all such subtleties to the discomfiture of his contemporaries. From its very first line quoted below, the drift and character of the whole poem can be gauged :

شهرنشاہ دین بادشاہ زمان
روایتی ہواں شہ کامران

¹ Ibid

Note the artistic use of the word '*humāyūn*' with '*kāmran*' in their both concrete and adjectival senses. This is a typical example of the usual attempts at the Indian courts to exhaust two or more figures of speech in one phrase. The prominent figures in the above are ایہام and مراعات الخیر [Equivocation and Homogeneity]. The great incentive to this sort of production is to be found in the applausive support of the Mughal kings who encouraged its growth in India as a piece of literary skill. But it must not be understood that this hobby was exclusively Indian. It was in fact Persian, but developed in India under more favourable circumstances. Cf. a similar instance of play on the word '*mahmūd*' (name of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī) at the Persian court of Shāh 'Abbās—the Great, from Zulālī's masnawī entitled '*Mahmūd wa Ayūz*' beginning

نام آنکہ مسعودش ایازا • • • • • عی شہانہ نار و نیازا •

Also cf. the finishing line الہی عاقبت مسعود باشد [B.M. MSS.

Or 350] For further illustrations *vide supra*, p. 17 N 3

The emperor of religion and the king of the
age

Became victorious through auspicious fortune.

His other poems including *rubā'iyāt* and *qasā'id* are to be found in the biographies of Persian poets. Some selections have been given by Badā'ūnī and Abul Fazl. The following from the latter is reproduced as a clever composition in praise of Akbar inducing him to bestow on the poet yet another elephant loaded with gold

تا بغلان میل دیدم دلستان خویش را
صرف راه لیل کردم نقد جان خویش را
خال بر سر میخاکم خون لیل صحرای
گرفته دهنم بر سر خود : ایان خویش را
ساده لیل افکن حلال الدین : ایاکمراست
آنکه به به لیل زربین ساعراں خویش را

Since I noticed the attention of my heart
ravisher towards elephants
I spent in the path of the elephants the cash
of my life
I throw dust over my head like an elephant
wherever I go

1. In Akbari Vol I p. 244

The above poem is a very good example of the Persian figure of speech known as *metaphor* wherein the channels of thought and metaphor are suggested purely from the luxuries of an Indian court.

If I do not find on my head my elephant-
 driver ;
 The elephant-braver king is that Jalāluddīn
 Muhammad Akbar,
 Who bestows on his poets elephants loaded
 with gold.

He combined the knowledge of Astronomy with Poetry. In the latter he confined his attention chiefly to 'gasīda'-writing, and followed Nizām i Astrābādī, and Anwarī in general style. He entered Humāyūn's service in the first part of his reign, and presented to him the following 'gasīda' which he had composed in the metre of Anwarī.

محل مهر جو آید به شبستان - دل
 لاله فانوس در امروز و نرگس در شعل
 کوه اردن ، در بهمن و بهار کتون
 وید ، از صاعقه اش انر بهاری مبدل

The litter of the sun when it enters the night-
 chamber of the *Ram*,
 The tulip lights up the candle-lamp, and the
 narcissus the torch ,
 The mountain is now relieved of the headache
 of December and January,

¹ Badā'ūnī—Vol I, p 483

Cf Anwarī's *gasīda*

چرخ خورشید چو در حوت فرآید : ماه

نارگس . روز کند او بهار را از دل

The spring cloud washes the sandal powder
from off its face.

Some of his *qasīd* are most remarkable, and are composed in close imitation of those of the leading Persian poets like Salmān Zahir Anwārī and Khāqānī. A few of which the opening lines are quoted below are specially noteworthy

در غم آلود جهان عین از دل ناساز رفت
خوبه غم کردیم خندانانی که عین از زبان رفت

In the grief inhabited world life a joy left the
unhappy heart,
So much to grief were we given that life a
joy was forgotten.

ما در محرم عشق بدنامم و زاهد از دنیا
هر دو بدنامم اما ما کصای او کصا

We are notorious for our guilt of love and the
devotee for his hypocrisy
Both are notorious, but see the difference
between him and ourselves.

بهر روز میا که شمره ایام مشغولی
ما کصا دهم تو بدنام دی

¹ Ibid. p. 487

² Ibid

Ibid.

Don't come out, for thy fame will spread,
We shall be killed and thou wilt be slandered.

بهر آنکه سر کام گیتی به دل
منزدیک اهل مرد دیرینه عاقل

He who fixes his heart on the object of the
world,
Is not wise before the men of wisdom.

باز وقت که در ماهی تقاضا از ملک
اگرند بر در ایوان چمن گل تو شاد

Again 'Tis time, through the sky's demands,
That the rose spread a carpet before the
palace-garden's gate.

He is called '*Dakhanī*' because he had devoted himself in his later years entirely to Deccan, and rose to considerable influence and fortune there. He originally belonged to 'Irāq wherefrom he came to Āgra and stayed there for some time in the beginning. Since he was an orthodox Shī'a and a zealous advocate of his religion, he often discussed with the Sunni court religious questions which eventually led to a friction between himself and his Sunni associates. He called himself a relation of Shāh Tahmāsp, and might be that he was purposely sent to Humāyūn's court by the Shāh to convert the emperor into Shī'a. From Āgra he went to his

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., p. 484

elder brother Shāh Ja far in Deccan and took service under Burhān Nizām Shāh I ruler of Ahmadnagar who soon raised him to the rank of Deputy (*Vakil*) He is an epoch-making personage and opens a new chapter in the history of the Deccan by introducing the Shi'a faith in that country and converting the Shāh into a zealous Shi'a. Badā'uni relates the incident which led to the conversion of the Shāh as follows

و نظام شاه بکری را که بسیاری مهمن لاعلاج داشت
 دیوانه دل فسون خوانی شاه بهادر به سوتی روی داد و این
 معنی را حمل بر کرامات شاه حطرنموده بلعوائی
 او از مذهب سنی و حماقت که نظریتی مهندیه داشت
 بر آمده متروک غالی شد

Ibid. p. 483.

NOTE. A doubt is expressed by Professor Browne, in his recent work *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, A.D. 1500—1924 p. 169 fn. 2, as to the correctness of the epithet *Bakr* with which the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar were known. Cf —

I doubt if *Bakr* is a correct reading. It should perhaps be *Burhān*, the proper name of the second of the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar who reigned, etc. As to its use as a title or surname of the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar there is not the least doubt. The historian Farishtā who, on his arrival in India, had at first settled at Ahmadnagar due to his father's appointment as tutor to Murtazā Nizām Shāh says that Nizām Mulk I, (whose real name on his conversion to Islam had been changed from Malik Nāṣir to Malik Husayn) was for a time called *Baka* i.e. after the name of his Brahman father

And to Nizām Shāh Bahri, who had a chronic and incurable disease, through Shāh Ja'far's recitation of charm, relief appeared And having attributed this to Shāh Ja'far's supernatural powers, the king, through his instigation, renounced the Sunni faith which he had on the manner of Mahdīwī sect, and became a zealous bigot.

He died in 952 A H , and the date was found in the ingenious phrase *و او تابع الملک بن محمد بن علی* and he was the follower of the house of 'Alī) He was an excellent poet, and is the author of several poetical works consisting mostly of '*masnawī* and '*qasā'id* in praise of Humāyūn and Nizām Shāh Bahri.

He came to Āgra from Shirāz, and took his role as one of Humāyūn's court poets He had a Sūfistic turn of mind and lived a simple and unostentatious life. Badāūnī testifies to his fame as a poet and his tendency to Sūfism He possessed a sweet tongue and his poetry

Shaikh Abul
Wajid Farighi
Shirāzi

'Bahar' This appellation was changed by Sultān Muhammad Shāh into 'Bahri' with which the dynasty became subsequently known in the Deccan The Sultan had also entrusted to his care his favourite hawk together with other hunting animals due to the suggestivity of the word 'Bahri' (a hawk or a falcon) Cf the statement

اگرچه در این مورد شاه درازان - "الی چون لفظ درازان - سرخه ، کرده
... در این مورد - هر آینه بین الخاص و العام به - سرخی ملقب
... در این مورد - خاصه خود را در لباس و جامه جانوران شکاری
... بپوشانده و ملا - "الی حواله - ... - ن - سرخی نموده -

[Farishta, Vol. II, p 534.]

was full of pathos and the pang of spiritual love. He wrote chiefly *ghazal* on separation from his ideal beloved and in complaint of the latter's inattentions. Some specimens are as follows

از پس که آن حفا حوازار منماید
الذل قرحم او سسار منماید

Since great is the torture that that tyrant
shows

A little mercy from him appears as much.

بصدد الله که وار ستم ز صبق - - بد مغری
که می افتد. خون چشم خون از تی بهر کوی
خو ساغر از برای جرعه لب بر لب هر کس
صراحی وار بهر ساغری مائل بهر سوی

God be praised that I was freed from the
love of a quarrelsome drunkard

Who fell into every street like his own
intoxicated eye

Like a wine-cup for a draught of wine he
put his lip to the lip of every one

Like a jug of wine for a cup of wine he was
going in every direction

¹ Badā'uni Vol. I, p. 475.

² Ibid.

‘خو تر خود کسی از ایام نگذار بهکان را
مرا دل ده که نامردانه در راحت دهم جان را

When thou drawest the arrow from my chest,
leave the arrow-head
Give me heart so that like a brave man I may
give my life in thy path

He breathed his last in 940 A H at Agra and was buried by the side of his late friend Shaikh Zainuddin whose death had occurred just a few months before him.*

He lived at the Mughal court as personal physician to Bābur and Humāyūn and also as chief Munshi to the latter. He is the author of several works of diverse utility and nature including poetical medicinal and epistolary. In poetry he wrote chiefly *qasida* on subjects connected with public health and hygiene under the pen name ‘Yūsufī. Some of his works are the following

Yūsuf bin
Muhammad
Hirwal

Ibid.

* This is to be noted that both these poets on their arrival in India were in a very miserable condition. Shāikh Abul Waḥid who came from Shirāz had nothing with him besides one old fur coat on his body and so did the other. Cf. the statement

‘مغلی که هر روز گوار میخوردند از کفای ملوک نهر از کلاه پرسی
پایه نداشتند

[Ibid. p. 477] From this extreme poverty they rose to fortune under the Mughal patronage. Shaikh Zainuddin was appointed as *Sadr* by Bābur and Abul Waḥid occupied a seat among the court poets of Humāyūn.

- I. *Riyāz ul Inshā'*¹: a treatise on the properties of simple and compound medicinal herbs and prescriptions, undertaken in 946 A.H., and on finish dedicated to Humāyūn.
- II. *Jāmi'ul Fawa'id'*²: a work on general medicine treating of their uses, benefits, and injuries, with certain guiding rules.
- III. *Qāṣida fī ḥifz i Sīhat*: a poem on the main principles of hygiene, dedicated to Bābur in 937 A. H., when he was not keeping good health
- IV. *Badār'ul Inshā*. a treatise on the art of literary composition, giving proper titles and forms of addresses in accordance with the rank and profession of the addressee. It was written in 940 A. H.,³ for the benefit of his own son, Rafi'uddin Husain, as well as other youths in general. It has been lithographed at Lāhore, Delhi, and Lucknow.

¹ Add. 17955, B.M. MSS, foll. 79b, and 174a.

² Add. 28, 560, B M MSS foll 262a—264b

NOTE —This is only an extract from the preceding work

³ The date of its composition is obtained by doubling the total of the numerical value of the letters of its title, as hinted by the author in the following verse

تکرار کنی جو نام ادرا یکبار * نہ کہ دہری ہاں اتمام

[Thus اتمام = 470, which on being doubled ($470 \times 2 = 940$) gives the date of its composition]

He was the son of the famous scholar and poet of Babur a time *khwāja Abul Barakat* (still alive *ḥwāja* and patronised by *Humāyūn*) The *Ayrb* father and the son both were capable poets and wrote all kinds of poetry including *ghazal* *maṣnawī* *rubāī* and *qasīda*. The father used *Farāqī* as his pen name. The following *qasīda* which he wrote after the manner and style of *Salīmān Sāwajī* is one of his worthiest productions

تپ فم دارم و درد سر هکراں بر سر
آمده حان لب و نامده حان بر سر
تا گرفت آن دل در تن من خون نمایی
دامم حال شد و چال گریبان بر سر

The fever of grief and the headache of
separation have I ov'r head
To the lip has come life and the loved bath
not come ov'r head
Since the fire of the heart caught light in my
body like a candle lamp
My skirt was torn and the rent of the collar
appeared ov'r head

He combined with the sober poetic vein a considerable amount of humour and also wrote satires for which he had a pungent gift, on eminent theologians in a graceful and felicitous style. Some of

Farishta pays him a high tribute of praise and declares that he came to Deccan after Humāyūn's death¹

His son khwāja Ayyūb in his poetical composition sometimes uses Ayyūb and sometimes Farūqī (the pen name of his father) as his *nom de guerre*. A specimen of his ode is as follows

اے ساق گل کہ صبح و سہمی قد ک
 در گرد لب خطے ز زمرد کسند
 قدت برآمده خو الف مدطله
 دور انرواں فراز الف مد ک
 بر حرف دیگراں رفته قرعہ قبول
 بر حرف عاشقان قلم رد ک
 از دولت وصال فراقی طمع من
 حور و حقای یار حوا صد ک

O branch of the rose thou art drawn straight
 like an erect stature

¹ Cf. the statement :

مواجه ایوانبرکت سمرقانی که آخر فرزند شاه طاهر به ملک
 آمده بود مرادش - و ندیمی مدید و نظیر ندیمه -

[Farishta, Vol. I. p. 256.]

² Badā'uni Vol. I. p. 429

Round over thy lip thou hast drawn a line of
emerald ;
 Thy stature has come out like 'alif,' may its
shadow increase,
 And from thy eyebrows thou hast drawn a
mad' over that 'alif' ,
 Thou hast cast a dice of acceptance on the
words of others,
 On the words of lovers thou hast drawn the
pen of rejection ;
 O Farāqī, do not despair the boon of his
union,
 Since thou hast suffered endless tyranny and
oppression of the beloved.

Maulānā Muhammad bin 1 'Alī bin 1 Muhammad
al Miskinī al Qāzī as Samargandī, a man of consider-
 able learning remained unnoticed by the
 Maulānā Mu-
 hammad Fāzī Mughal historians, author of a distin-
 guished Persian work entitled '*Jawāhir ul 'Ulūm*' (or
 the pearls of Sciences) not published. It is a volu-
 minous work covering 814 foll. (1,628 pages), of large
 foolscap size, closely written in neat elegant Arabic
 character. It is divided into several chapters and
 subdivisions, and treats of one hundred and twenty
 different subjects which are discussed under those
 headings with admirable brevity and simpleness of
 style. Some discussions are on history, astronomy,
 mathematics, medicine, logic, philosophy, ethics, and
 Muslim jurisprudence. The copyist is one Nūr
 Muhammad's son, 'Abdurrahmān of Lāhore. The
 date of compilation is contained in its very name.

which is inserted both in the Introduction and at the end and works out into 946 A H. The work is called *Humāyūnī* after the name of the emperor to whom, as it appears from the Preface this copy was formally presented. The author also incidentally hints at several works of his prior to this one and says as a reason for writing this book, that from his very boyhood till his mature age he was busy in acquiring knowledge under the best teachers of the age and having studied some rare works like *Nafā'is ul Funūn* ft *Arā'is ul Uyūn* *Sittin ul Āsūr* and *Hadā'iq ul Anwār*, he thought of putting together their contents as well as those of his previous works, in a smaller compilation. The work is therefore a sort of Encyclopedia which is a singular undertaking in that age and stands by itself.

The title page bears the seals of Shāh Jahān Sulaimān Jah Sultān Ālam and Shāh Ālam with several autographs of the librarians and private owners. These with the inscription of Sulaimān Jah's seal suggest that the book remained in the

1 Cf. the title and its working :

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \text{کتاب} & 20 + 400 + 10 + 2 & = 632 \\ \text{جواهر} & 3 + 8 + 1 + 5 + 200 & = 215 \\ \text{العلوم} & 1 + 30 + 70 + 30 + 6 + 40 & = 177 \\ \text{معارف} & 5 + 40 + 1 + 10 + 5 + 50 + 10 & = 122 \end{array}$$

کتاب جواهر العلوم - معارف

Total 946 A H.

Cf. the inscription in verse

عرفی لست بحر تنہائے علم و جاہ

بحر کتاب جزا در تکیہ ہماکہ

libraries of the kings of Delhi and Oudh Since the work is of peculiar interest, it would be of some value for a student of literary history to observe the style of its language, and the tone of the author's Preface and his address to the king, together with the subjects discussed, which in those days formed the main basis of learning and considered important from a scholar's standpoint

The first 3 folios are reproduced from the original as follows fol 1 b

کتاب حواہر العلوم
 مسمیٰ الیہ الرحمن الرحیم
 و مسمیٰ بالکثیر

فہمہ المقربین مہاومات حواہر علوم و تصنیفات مصنفات
 فاضل و کاملہ بریں مدشورات نواند و مسمیٰ و تالیفات مؤلفان
 کامل کہ چہرہ فسادت نہ عار ہو و مسمیٰ و تالیفات
 معقولہ و جامعہ بلاغت و فنون ریاضیاتیات عربیہ و معقولہ
 را نویز و تالیفات و ہر یک کرامت مزین و مسمیٰ و تالیفات
 و تالیفات و مسمیٰ و تالیفات و مسمیٰ و تالیفات
 پادشاہی، اسمہ کہ نظام امور عالم و نظام مہام
 ہی آدم بود و تالیفات و پادشاہی، اسمہ کہ نظام امور عالم
 و تالیفات و مسمیٰ و تالیفات و مسمیٰ و تالیفات
 شہریار و تالیفات و مسمیٰ و تالیفات و مسمیٰ و تالیفات
 نویز امور شرع عقیدت و لوازم دینی مہام دین را باوج
 مہم بریں ہر افرامہ فہم
 زوج آدم و ان نام کران * فہمہ دینیات و تالیفات و تالیفات

و نه هایف لطایف صلوات و سرایف و ظایف و ایت
 و نه هایف آن خلاصه نه و نه کایف و نه هایف
 موجودات که بناسع علوم نه ع هلم از بهر معنی
 دانس او نظره ای نه و مصابیح معارف نه ع فضلا
 از مساری آفتاب معرفتس نره و نه هایف

مقتدای انسا سلطان دارا ایدین

سند اولاد آدم رحمه اللعالمس

و هر آل و انساب و احباب که ارکان دولت و دین
 واعمال حضرت سیدکاه و سلیس اند صلی الله ما
 و علی آل ابی هادی و خادایه الرا دین و انصاب
 ایدین اما بعد حسن گوید بنده فقیر و نره
 نه راجی من الله الحاکم الاندین معصدا فاضل من
 علی بن مهمل ال کدلی القاضی السرفندی غفرالله
 ثنوبه و ستر نه که از ایام صفا تا مقام انتها
 سر نه هایف فصایل و کمالات می نمود و از روایح نفایس
 علماء زمان و نوابیح معالسا فضلا دروان حظی تمام
 ایدین ام می نمود و بعد از فراغ مطالعه نفایس القلوس
 فی هرایس العنوس و ستنس الآثار و حدایق الانوار
 و ایسی از نوابیح نه فضلا فصاحت شعار این مرم
 حرم نه که خلاصه الفاظ حواهر آبدار و نه هایف
 معانی ابتکار آنها را مع ثنوب نوابح احمار و حرف و نه
 حند بی مقدار که ازین خاکسار نه اشتها دار نه مد

جامعہ توان نگار آوردہ نہ فائدہ نامہ شامہ مل بر صوابیدہ

علم ترقی دہد و موضوع ہر یک را برسان فارسی
بر سبیل احتیاج نامہ سن نظام و اندسہ ترقی اقدام داید
بروہی کہ ہمید خاص و عام و مستحسن جمیع طوایف
انام نامہ چون روی امید نہ کرم کریم حاوید کرد و ذریعہ
انتقار و انکسار میان آوردن لازم از مدد و یافا علی
الاطلاق نامہ چون مردم استحقاق نامہ ام آن امر ہمیشہ مشرف
شد و مدد نامہ آن داخل حسیم مستحسن گشت و آنرا دجہوار
العلوم ہایونی موسوم گردانید و حیوانات متذوقہ آنرا

بہت اہم و قابل مذاکرہ و مذاکرہ شدہ انہ نام

و ہمہ احتیاج نامہ ان و جامعہ بی مددش را دہرار مدح
حسرت مداحہ قرآن دہرار و ذات مدحہ سماش را دہرار
(fol. 2a) نامہ ہر رت سلیمہ انی معزز گردانید کہ نامہ
حکمتہ مانرس مورد آثار دیویجات الہی است و ناظر
فرہنگہ دیامش مدحہ انوار الہامات نامہ دہی - نامہ
اطیعش عارف معارف جمیع ہایل و کہالات و ذہن ترقی
واقہ مواظہ جمیع معقولات و مدقولات - ہکی ہمہ عالی
دہتمس برتقویم قوایم ملک عرا و تشیث دعیام ثریوت
دیسا مقصود است و تمامی اوقات حکمتہ سائنس
نہ مراقبہ حال مسایم بررگوار و دہشیت ہمہ رانات
عالیہ قدر و رعایہ اعلام و تقویہ امور و اہل اسلام
مہرور اعلی ہم حالہ سلیمہ ان دہنگاہ سکندر حجاب آن

قلم جاسید مقام خورشید حسام فریدون فر گزین مقرر
 انکم - م کواکب خدم مهر مکان سپهر مکیں ملایک نساں
 ارایک نسں صبح سیمای آفتاب رای ستاره درم دریا کرم
 ناظم مناظم سرا فرای مقوی ارکان ملت داری معزالسلطنة
 والاختلافه صمد هما یوں بادشاه العازی

الح الله تعالی سرور الامم علی الفلك
 الرابع و البساط مملکت الی الاقلیدم السابع
 امیدواری بکمال کرم کردگاری انکه مستعدان متخلص
 اشرف اهل ارقام اس ادراک افادت انعام را بسرف قبول
 مسرف سازند و ما در این احزای بلاعب فرجام را منظور
 نظر اعتماد گردانیده برزلات در اللسان نیندازند و ما

خداوند ا جو از ما این عنایت
 دالطانی که انرا د عایت

کرم کردی پس کونقی تالیف
 مرا دادی تو استعداد تصایف

که تصایف مرا مقبول گردان
 بدین و ما ستعاضو من دان

هری من فری از فضل بکسا
 خطاهای قلم را مغف فرما

را و بعد از آن فرمود که درجات مر اهل علم راست و ازین
 جا لازم آید که درجات اهل علم از درجات دیگران برتر
 بود و آنچه در این حدیث مذکور است از مقامات این
 منقول است که **حق تعالی فرموده است** که یا
 ع - عظم الا اناء و اعرف اناءهم فانی اناءهم علی
 ح - حقایق الالاء و اناءهم کفضل الاناء علی
 الکواکب و کفضل الآخرة علی الدنيا و کفضل اناء علی
 کذل شیء یعنی ما ع - که ایم کن تو علما را و
 اناء اناء اب ایسان را و کمالی که من ترجیح
 کرده ام ایشانرا بر ع - ح خلق خود مگر دنیا و
 اناء اناء مر ل و فضل ایسان مثل فضل و سرف
 افتاد است بر کواکب و مثل فضل و شرف آخرت است بر
 دنیا و مثل فضل و سرف من است بر تمام مخلوقات -
 و آنچه در احادیث مذکور است که **قال**
علیه السلام الناس عالم او اناء و سائر الناس
 کالاناء مع لا خیر فیهم یعنی مران از انسان یا عالم است
 یا اناء و بانی مردمان حیوان و اندک که در ایشان
 نیکوتری است و قوله **علیه السلام** اناء اناء الناس
 من درجه النماء (fol 2b) اهل العلم و الصحابة یعنی از
 مردمان نیکوترین در بدرجه نبوت اهل علم و اهل جهاد اند

و نادر حدی است عر که در راه طلب علم عبارے
 بر نده او سیند حق تعالی ندن اودا از انس دوزم
 نگاه دارن و بیور آمده است که حق سبحانه و
 تعالی کوچه آورده است مقدار دنیا و فردای امامت
 چهار بار در ترازوی نهاده سون که که جهت علم
 دوزی ترازوی ادب پس عالمی مسسه باشد و نیز
 نادر حدی است که عر که یک روز در طلب علم گذاردن
 نردنک حق تعالی بهتر باشد از عبادت هزار ساله و در
 دوا را الفتاوی آورد. ۱۸۱. که هر که یک روز در
 طلب علم صرف کند حقا باشد که مقدار کوه
 است نرسد در راه حق تعالی صرف نموده باشد تسم نام
 نادریدان تعویض و قیاس جمع ایران علوم معقوله
 و نوصه تمامی انواع دهن معقوله - بدان که علم
 بحسب استیصال لغتی مجلد معنی مستعمل است گاهی
 معنی صفتی بود که مراد تمیز کردن و ناس معنی
 علم از فصل معقوله کتب باشد و گاهی معنی مصلحتی
 و معنی عالمت آید و برین تقدیر از فصل معقوله
 مضاف بود و گاهی معنی در صورت حقی در عقل
 آید و ناس اعتبار از معقوله افعال باشد و گاهی
 بمعنی اعتقاد حازم مطابقی ناس و گاهی معنی حکم
 بتوقع نسبت و برین دو تقدیر از معقوله فعل است و
 گاهی بر چند تصدیق اطلاق نمایند از مسایل که

راجع باشند آنها در مورد موضوع واحد چنانچه علم
 فقه و علم طب و علم فقه و امثال آن و این را
 مناسبت نامند و علم الهی مناسبت دو نوع است
 حکمت و ادب، حکمت آدست که در علم او تکمیل
 آمده و جمیع اقوام علی السویه باشند چون علم
 الهی و علم هیئت - و ادب آدست که نه در همه از اقوام و
 از همه مخصوص باشد چون علم نجوم و صرف که مدعی
 بر توانمندی عربیه است نه بر توانمندی اهل فارس و علم
 حکمت دو نوع است اولی حکمت عقلی و حکمت نظری - و
 حکمت نظری دربارت قسم از دانستن چیزها چنانچه باید
 و حکمت عقلی در عمل آوردن چیزهاست چنانچه باید
 در هر مطلق و نظری - حکمت نظری سه قسم است اولی
 و اولی و عقل و این سه قسم مشتعل بر چهارده علم
 است چنانکه هر يك مذکور میشود **اول علم اعلمی**
 که موضوع او در خارج و ذهن دیگر ماده است چون
 معرفت اله و عقول و نفوس و وحدت و کثرت و مادیات
 آن و اصول این علم در دو قسم است معرفت اله و مادی
 مخلوقات از عقول و نفوس و این قسم اول را علم
 الهی مدعی الهیات خوانند و معرفت امور عامه چون
 معرفت وحدت و حدود و قدوم و امثال آن و این قسم دوم
 را علم فلهاء اولی نامند **دوم علم اوسه** مدعی
 علم ریاضی (fol 3a, begins on page 89)

که در ذی ماده ندارند و در خارج به ماده نبود
 چون اسکال و دواهر و اعدان و امثال آن و اصول این علم هر
 چهار قسم است هندسه که عبارت است از معرفت مقادیر
 و اسکال و خط اما بی و لواحق آن و علم α که عبارت
 است از معرفت اوضاع احرام علوی یا احرام سفلی و علم
 ثالث که عبارت است از دانستن ثالثات چون ثالث
 ثلثات و حرکات و این علم را موسیقی خوانند و علم ثالث
 الفاظ β ای از عربی و فارسی که γ در منقوش و مانی نامند
 و δ علم اسماء یعنی علم طبیعی که موضوع او در
 خارج و ذی ماده دارند چون انسان و حیوان و مانند آن
 و اصول این علم هر ϵ قسم است معرفت مبتدی
 ζ رات چون قبول و صورت و زمان و مکان و سکون و حرکت
 و امثال آنها علم اسماء η می نامند و معرفت احسان θ
 و مرکبه و معرفت احکام بمسائط علوی و سفلی چون الال
 و کواکب و عناصر و امثال آنها علم اسماء ι عالم گویند که
 از κ اح این λ μ ν ξ \omicron π ρ σ τ υ ϕ χ ψ ω δ ϵ ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ \omicron π ρ σ τ υ ϕ χ ψ ω
 و تبدل و α β γ δ ϵ ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ \omicron π ρ σ τ υ ϕ χ ψ ω
 و α β γ δ ϵ ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ \omicron π ρ σ τ υ ϕ χ ψ ω
 آب α β γ δ ϵ ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ \omicron π ρ σ τ υ ϕ χ ψ ω
 سون α β γ δ ϵ ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ \omicron π ρ σ τ υ ϕ χ ψ ω
 سون α β γ δ ϵ ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ \omicron π ρ σ τ υ ϕ χ ψ ω
 صواشی چون بری و رعد و صاعقه و هاله و باران و زلزله و امثال
 آنها علم آثار α β γ δ ϵ ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ \omicron π ρ σ τ υ ϕ χ ψ ω
 ترکیبات خواهر و احسان و کبر - و سیماب و مانند آن را

علم معادن گویند و معروضات اسما نامیده و قوای آن چون
 کیفیت معانی و بیخ ها در زمین و برآمدن قوایم آن
 در هوا و درازی و کوتاهی و کمی و راستی شاخه های و صورت
 برگها و کیهیات در بارش و وودها و مانند آن را علم
 نباتات خوانند و معروضات احوال اسما متحرکه و حرکت
 ارادی و مدادی حرکات و قوای ایشان چون معرفت و حوس
 و مایور و کیمیه اسما و آردنه و سرائین و اختلاف صور
 و حیرانات و منازعت طمایع و امریه و مدایع اخلاق و احوال
 و نواع آنرا علم نباتات نامند و معروضات احوال
 فنیس فاطقه انسانی و چگونگی تدبیر و تصرف چون
 کیهیه روح و بودن او داخل در بدن یا خارج یا مکیده بدن
 یا زمین یا عرض یا دهر یا جسم و امثال آنرا علم نفس
 نامند و احوال حکوم و احوالی چهار قسم است
 حکوم خلقی یعنی علم اخلاق که تاصلاح
 هر شخص تعلق دارد حکوم منزلتی یعنی علم معاش
 حکوم اجتماعی یعنی علم محاسن و محاسن و
 حکوم بلایه یعنی علم آداب مملکت و این چهار
 قسم مدلول بر چهارده علم است و علم ادب نیز مدلول
 است بر چهارده علم و علم مداطره و علم مدطق
 را نیز داخل ادبیات دانسته اند چنانچه مذکور
 مزاهد شد علم دین و نوع است علم احکام

دین و علم حکم هفتی - علم احکام دین دو نوع است - علم احکام عملیه و علم احکام اعتقادی - علم احکام ۱. باطنی یا باطنی - علم احکامه که تعلق بظاهر دارد علم فقه است و علم احکام ۲. که تعلق بباطن دارد علم تصوف است و علم احکام اعتقادی اگر موافق قوانین سربست غرض باشد علم کلام است و علم حکم سه نوع است علم ۱. در علم حدیث و علم اصول فقه و اساسی شروع هر یک از علوم دینی و ۲. و ادبی به تمام در فهرست این ۱. ۲. سعادت انعام مذکور است و ۳. در و الله اعلم به اشیای الامور قسم سوم از مقایسه در میان تعداد ابواب و فهرست این کتاب ۴. در از فصل کرم هم الهی و فصل نعم ۵. نامتناهی این بنده ۶. بتدریس و تالیف این و هر کتب علوم و آداب و ۷. در اهل فضل و خطای اعلی ۸. و کمالات انسانی و ۹. سعادات اهل معانی صرف سه علوانات متفرقه آنرا هر طایفه ۱۰. در مراتب ۱۱. در نظام ۱۲. - ۱۳. در جام ۱۴. گردانند و مقالات ۱۵. در این باب و تف این مرقومات مذکوره بسعادت اتمام فرموده انعام رسانند بعد از آن قسم اول از مقاله اوایی از کتاب fol 8 b جواهرالعلوم باب ۱ در علم خط کتاب ۲ در علم انسا باب ۳ در علم سحر باب ۴ در علم تائیه باب ۵

در علم مروض باب ۱۰۶ در علم معانی و دل و معنیات

امیر حسین و دیان شعر باب ۷۱ در علم ادایع و ادایع

شعری و اظهار سر باب ۸۱ در علم اطایف و مطایبات

باب ۹۱ در علم امثال و حکایات بر میل تشبیه

و استعارات باب ۱۰۱ در علم اغراض و بیان و امع آن

باب ۱۱۱ در علم صرف باب ۱۲۱ در علم نحو

باب ۱۳۱ در علم معانی باب ۱۴۱ در علم بیان

باب ۱۵۱ در علم معانی منقوله و معقوله باب ۱۶۱

در علم عقاید باب ۱۷۱ در علم معرفت الهیات

باب ۱۸۱ در علم امور عامه باب ۱۹۱ در علم امراض

باب ۲۰۱ در علم حکمت باب ۲۱۱ در علم منطق

باب ۲۲۱ در علم مذاخره و آداب المصاحف و نظم

تعداد آن قسم دوم از مقاله اول از کتاب

و اهل العلوم

باب ۱۱ در علم قصص الانبیاء باب ۱۲ در معرفت

تاریخ ملوک فارس که قبل از عهد دیناورد سلطنت

بوده اند باب ۱۳ در علم سیرالمنی و دوان معجزات

و ذکر معراج باب ۴ در معرفت و افعات و غزوات
نصوی و بیان اوصاف خانة کعبه باب ۵ در معرفت

اوصاف و احوال جمع ۱۱۱۱ باب ۶ در معرفت
تاریخ سلاطین که بعد از ۱۱۱۱ بوده اند تا
مهد بنندگان - سمرت ص - ۱۱۱۱ باب ۷ در معرفت
تاریخ بنندگان حضرت ص - ۱۱۱۱ و اولاد و احفاد
بزرگوار ایسان باب ۸ در علم النساء باب ۹

در علم مقالات عالم باب ۱۰ در علم حروف و مقامات طینة
اولی از اولیا باب ۱۱ در معرفت مرآتات و مقامات طینة
ثانی از مشایخ طریقت از خواجگاهی ۱۲ و غیرهم
و بیان مقابله مرآتات انسا و اولیا و بیان طرح و وضع
خانة کعبه باب ۱۳ در بیان معصائب المتعلقات از
امور اخروی و دنیوی - بعد از آن قسم اول از مقالات

دوم از کتاب جواهرالایام - باب ۱۴ در تهذیب
اخلاقی باب ۱۵ در علم تطهیر نفس از اوصاف ذمیه
باب ۱۶ از علم معاش در معرفت حقوق والدین و اولاد
باب ۱۷ در بیان معاملات با زوجات باب ۱۸ در معرفت

آداب استخدام بای. ۶۱ در معرفت حقوق موالیک
 بای. ۷۱ در معرفت حیران بای. ۸۱ در علم محاسن و
 محاسن بای. ۹۱ از علم آداب ملوک در دیان علم حقوق
 رعایا بر ملوک بای. ۱۰۱ در علم حقوق ملوک بر رعایا
 بای. ۱۱۱ در دیان معرفت حرا و رعا بای. ۱۲۱
 در دیان معرفت فرس نامه و نعمت از حیوانات بای. ۱۳۱
 در دیان معرفت قوس نامه بای. ۱۴۱ در دیان معرفت
 مار نامه و حیرة بای. ۱۵۱ در علم تشریح امسا بای. ۱۶۱
 در معرفت کلیات طبی بای. ۱۷۱ در دیان اسباب
 ضروریة و ما یتعلق بها بای. ۱۸۱ در دیان
 علم دین بای. ۱۹۱ در دیان معاملات طبی
 بای. ۲۰۱ در دیان حیات بای. ۲۱۱ در دیان علم
 قریب الدین یعنی معرفت ادویة مفردة و مرکبة
 و تقریب حروف قهری بای. ۲۲۱ در امراض عین
 تدیان قسم دوم از مقالات دوم از کتاب
 جواهر العارم - بای. ۱ در علم احکامات در مذهب
 از مذهب بای. ۲ در علم مذاکرات و تعلیمات -

باب ۳ در علم معاملات باب ۴ در معرفت عقود
و شهادات و مناسب بهذه الا - در باب ۵ در
علم عقوبات و حنایات باب ۶ در علم فرائض و
تواریک و ایوان قواعد چند جهة ۱ ت و ضرب و
ت ۲ و ۳ و حساب باب ۷ در علم اداب القاصی
و متفرقات (۱ ۲ ۳) در مباحث و قضایا و محاسن باب ۸
در علم سکون و قتالعات باب ۹ در علم محاسن و
دعای باب ۱۰ در علم - معاملات باب ۱۱ در علم
ترویج باب ۱۲ در علم اصول فقه باب ۱۳ در علم - باب
باب ۱۴ در علم صدق و - و حاء - و حرمت اکثر
حیوانات باب ۱۵ در علم سنن و احکام باب ۱۶
در علم اداب طعام باب ۱۷ در معرفت امور مباحه
باب ۱۸ در معرفت فوائد متفرقه و لطائف - فقهیه -
باب ۱۹ در علم - و نصایم - در آن قسم اول
در مقاله - و در کتاب حواضر - و - باب ۱
در علم ۲ در حد الفاظ ۳ قرآنی باب ۴ در علم
قرائن بنظم (fol. 4a) باب ۵ در علم خواص

اوران، تکیه و تکرار، تفسیر، مبدء نظام و حرب البحر
 ، درو آیات باب ۳۱ در علم ادعیه ماثوره و دعوات مشهوره
 باب ۵۱ در علم حدیث، باب ۶۱ در علم اصول حدیث
 باب ۷۱ در معرفت اقوال و اصطلاحات مرفیه باب ۸۱
 در علم روان باب ۹۱ در علم توحید و مراتب مکاشفات
 باب ۱۰۱ در معرفت مشاهدات باب ۱۱۱ در معرفت
 مقامات و مراتب آن باب ۱۲۱ در علم حقیقت تعداد
 قسم سوم از مقاله سیوم از کتاب، جواهرالعلوم
 باب ۱۱۱ در معرفت تقویم شمسی و قری و اختیار راعات
 باب ۱۲۱ در معرفت استخراج تقویم و شبکه نجومی
 باب ۱۳۱ در معرفت احکام نجوم باب ۱۴۱ در علم
 هیئت باب ۱۵۱ در علم استارلاب و بیان صناعت آن
 باب ۱۶۱ در معرفت کرب اطلاق باب ۱۷۱ در معرفت
 اقالیم سبعه باب ۱۸۱ در علم سور کواکب باب ۱۹۱
 در معرفت مسالك و ممالك عالم باب ۲۰۱ در علم
 تکوین باب ۲۱۱ در علم اعداد و حساب باب ۲۲۱

و طرز هم کمید و صغیر و جلیس و حرص - آنها در این
 و دیان و سایر فائده در علامات قیامت و احوال آخرت -
 باد . اول از قسم اول از مقاله اول از کتاب .
 جواهر العلوم - در بیان علم خط مشتمل بر شش
 فصل - فصل اول در تعریف خط و انواع آن
 و اقسام آن از معرفت تصویر کلمات و تحریر ترکیبات از
 حروف مهمله و اصول تهج و کیفیت منابع و اوصاف آن
 شامل صمدی کتابت و صفات و این منقذیه - که در
 تراکیب عرایش معانی کثر مرادات و در حبابی

In the abovequoted preface of the author several points are of special interest, of which the following deserve notice -

1. The work was the greatest and most important literary undertaking in Humāyūn's reign.
2. The author's idea of writing an Encyclopædia in that age, with the object of presenting it to a Mughal emperor in India, and not to any other Eastern monarch of a neighbouring country, is significant, and throws ample light on the literary taste of, and patronage shown by, the Mughal rulers
3. The then prevailing system of writing chapters and headings in red ink, with



FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE PAGE OF
"JAWĀHİR UL ULŪM HUMĀYŪNĪ"
[Author's family possession]

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HUMAYUN]

the number of page indicated on the top of each in black ink, is somewhat peculiar though at the same time very simple (*vide facs* of fol 3h)

4. The exceptional command and patience of the copyist to write out such a voluminous work in absolutely one hand and one style from the beginning to the end with distinctive accuracy elegance and neatness, is an important feature of the time and shows the height of excellence achieved in the art of calligraphy. Also their mode of crossing and correcting mistakes by enclosing the rejected portion with ^۱ inserted in the beginning and ^۲ at the end is indicated in *facs.* fol 1b
5. The subjects discussed in the work constituted *adab al-umam* (current sciences) which were commonly taught in the educational institutions in those days and formed the main basis of learning
6. Arabic characters were generally employed in writing books of Persian language, and specially in literary and scientific books. Even the poetical works of stand and poets were all written in *naskh* (Arabic characters) while Persian characters (*nasta'liq*) were more commonly used in works of less important character and light literature such as State documents, foreign correspondence, *firmans* and official and private letters.

The reason of composition is given by the author in the following words :

و در همه حالات و اوقات در خدمت شاه در
قیام مینموده پس به خاطر این خاطر که قیام و
تبرکات حالات و معاملات را بطریق یادداشت و تدوین
فراوان خود..... تذکره ده اید

And in all circumstances and at all times he had stayed in the service of his Majesty, so it occurred to his mind that he should record, as a memorandum and a boon and a blessing, the events and anecdotes, according to his own intellectual capacity.

He entered Humāyūn's service as an ewer-bearer at a very young age, and attended him
Jauhar faithfully during his reverses and flight from Hindūstān. Though not a very learned man, he is the author of a very important work which is of special historical value as being a faithful and unbroken record of Humāyūn's private life during his exile. It was undertaken long after Humāyūn's death in the year 995 A.H.²

¹ Ibid, fol 2a

² Tazkirat ul Waqī'āt, B.M MSS Add 16, 711, fol 2b A copy of this work (inferior to the B M Codex) is also in the I O Library

For a critical estimate of Jauhar see Raverty's article in the J R A S.

A summary of its contents is given below

- I Humayūn's fight with Sultan Bahādur Gujarāti and the conquest of Gujarāt.
- II His contests with Shēr Shāh and temporary victory and occupation of Bengal.
- III Subsequent attack by Shēr Shāh and Humayūn's defeat, his pluck while crossing the river, help given by a water-carrier who was afterwards made to sit on the royal throne at Āgra for half a day (*du sū at*)¹ in reward for his signal service.

¹ A *sū at* ساعت should not be understood in the strict sense of an hour. The day was then divided, as it is now into four *sū at* or *ghar* (also known as *pār* or *paṭr*). Gulbadan Begam calls these *dī lalās* by the last name Cf. —

تا سه پهر شب معلی بود .. بعد از سه پهر² ، سه آگاهی
نمودند

[Humayūn Nāma, p. 37]

These *dī lalās* of time were essentially Indian and had puzzled Bābur greatly. The above statement that the day was divided into four *sū at* is corroborated by Farihta also, who, in this instance یکروز را در سه ساعت into half a day. Cf. —

و سه نوبت که پانجاهی نوبتی را بعد از ، چهار باکری بود
ایرانی غلام چندجهه همان قسم پسند آمد
[Farihta, Vol. 2, p. 407]

It may however be noted that Gulbadan Begam differs from both Janhar and Farihta, and declares that the *malik* sat on the throne for two days. Cf. —

تا دو روز پسر نام پانجاهی دادند
[Humayūn Nāma, p. 44]

sū at also means a watch.

IV. Humāyūn's further reverses due to the hostile attitude of his brothers.

V. His flight to Persia; reception by Shāh Tahmāsp, the latter's evil designs against Humāyūn, and their aversion through the timely intervention of Bahrām Mīrzā's sister; help given to Humāyūn by the Shāh; conquest of Cābul; recruitment of soldiers for the attack on Hindūstān; death of Shēr Shāh, Humāyūn's entry into Āgra.

VI. His last days and death by an accidental fall from the staircase of his palace at Delhi.

The style is generally simple and unadorned though, at places he has, in conformity with the practice of the times, indulged into rhetorical expressions, probably to make a display of his knowledge, and inserted various quotations from the Qur'ān and the works of Persian poets.

Like Jauhar, he too was in the retinue of Humāyūn during the latter's flight from Hindūstān, and wrote a work entitled '*Tārīkh-i Humāyūn*' at the request of Akbar.

The author's own version as to this undertaking is as follows

چون ہم حلال الدین محمد اکبر پادشاہ
فرمودند ار دندھاں درگاہ ہریاں را کہ لیتہ تاریخ

[11 MAY 1977]

ہاسد نوبسند ملکہ از ایام سلطنت حضرت حلب آسانی
 ہمایوں ہادسہ اگر کہے را در خاطر حضرت ماندہ
 ہاسد دران طرح نہاید و بنام نامی ماتمام سازند و این
 ہروانہ را نواب سمیع المسامع سمیع اموالفضل ولد
 سمیع معارل بہ موجود ہے مضامین رسانند۔

Since Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Padishah of Jamahid's dignity said, 'Every one from among the servants of the court who possess an aptitude for history may write it nay from the reign of Humayun Padishah if any one has any events in his recollection they (he) may insert them therein (history) and conclude it in my Majesty's name And this royal mandate was conveyed to humble Ba Yazid by Nawab Shaikh ul Mashaikh Shaikh Ahul Fazl son of Shaikh Mubarak.

The work is almost similar to Jaubar's in diction and style and is full of many interesting incidents of Humayun's and Akbar's private lives. It was undertaken at Lahore in the year 999 A H when the author was feeling the infirmity of old age.' A most important piece of information contained in the work is the list of scholars and sundry notable officers who accompanied Humayun from

1 Cf. the statement:

و چون ایام جوانی گذشتہ و ایام پادشاهی مرا رسیدہ و حافظ را فرستادہ
 [Ibid.] الخ

Persia, Cābul, and other territories, on his way back to Hindūstān.¹

His real name was Shaikh Nizām. He entered Humāyūn's service on his second entry into Hindūstān.

He is said to be an excellent poet of Humāyūn's court, and wrote several 'masnawīs' and 'gasā'id' of which some he dedicated to the emperor. He died at an advanced age in 1003 A.H., and the chronogram of his death was found by one Nawāb Mubārak Khān of Delhi in the words 'اَهِ اَهِ نِزَامِ' (*āh āh Nizām*). It is a happy coincidence that a poet of the same name also lived at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī, and was reckoned among the leading poets of his day. Besides his numerous 'gasā'id' in praise of the Shāh, a custom which very curiously prevailed both in India and Persia, and was a common feature of the two courts, he wrote several 'masnawīs' of which the following were well-known :

- (i) *Wāmiq wa'azrā.*
- (ii) *Nāz wa Niyāz*
- (iii) *Afsāna i Bahār wa Khizān*
- (iv) *Lailā wa Majnūn* (also called "sar guzasht i Majnūn")¹
- (v) *Jannat ul Akhyār*
- (vi) *Sikandar Nāma.*

He also left two 'diwāns' entitled 'sahā'ifi 'amal' and 'Iqd i la'ālī,' consisting mostly of 'gasā'id' in praise of the Shāh, and 'ghazal' and 'rubā'ī' in

¹ Ibid, fols 72b—76a

praise of his beloved and on the transitoriness of this world and its vanities. He died in Persia thirty years before his namesake in India.

He was a descendant of Shaikh Ruknuddin Alauddaula Samnani and a pupil of Maulana Isam uddin in logic and philosophy and of ^{Abwaja} ^{Humayun Neri} the famous Traditionalist Shaikh Ibn al Hajar II in traditions and theology. As a poet of Persian language he compiled a *diwan* and is mentioned by Abul Fati and Badā'uni (both of whom derived their material from *Asfa ul Ma'azir*) as one of the poets of Akbar's reign. Bā Yāzid however mentions the *Khawaja* under Humayun as one of his constant associates.* Some specimens of his poetry which is full of subtleties peculiar to India are as follows

اے از مرے تو آب رفته
در لہذہ خیال و خراب رفته

O thou without thee from my eye-lash the
water flowed
And from the eye the thought and the sleep
departed

* See the list of scholars who accompanied Humayun on his second entry into Hindostan [Tārīkh-i Humayun, 10 MSS., fol. 74a] Also cf. fol. 74b —

میر عبدالکلی و خواجہ حسام مری و خواجہ ایوب و ابوالبرک
ابن حمادہ کہ اہل لغت بودند

* Badā'uni Vol III p 177

۱. خون را با چنانکه نمودی نمودی

افسوس آپ سانکہ دروہی نہ رہے

Thou hast shown thyself to us in the form
that was not thine,
Alas, the manner in which thou hast shown
thyself thou wast not

۲. ماما گره چو ماما در ابرو می‌کند؛

ما میرا . چو ہستی نہ دلاں کشودے

In association with us thou hast cast a knot,
like a bud, in thy eye-brow,
In company with others thou hast opened the
lip like a smiling pistachio.

٣ أتم كذا ممالك بخن ممالك من ا...

مهدف حمد مير في الملك من الامم

دیا چہ کن ز دستہ من ورقہ رس

اسرار دو کون در ، رکاک من اس

I am such that the dominion of speech is my
property,
The banker of Wisdom is the tester of my
string of pearls ;
The preface of *Existence* is a leaf from my
book,
The secrets of both the worlds are on the
point of my pen.

He wrote a versified translation of the famous Hindi work '*Sanghāsana Battisi*' entrusted to his care

¹ Ibid.

* Ibid.

• Ibid

by Akbar. It remained unfinished when he left India in 980 A H. for Cābul where died soon after. His poetic powers and erudition may well be judged by the fact that Faizi was his pupil and was brought up and trained by him. When the Khwāja took leave for Cābul, Faizi found the date of this event in the words 'دام الله' which are used for no less respectable a person than one a father or guardian. One of his marvellous compositions is a *qasida* which he wrote and presented to Akbar on the occasion of Jahāngir's birth in 977 A H. It was considered as a masterpiece of surpassing skill ever designed by any one before him. The author himself seemed proud of its production and challenged his colleagues (in the 13th verse) saying that no one from among the court poets could bring as a present anything better than that. It is so arranged through out that the first hemistich of every line gives the year of Akbar's accession to the throne while the second does that of Jahāngir's birth. This shows the progress made in the art of chronogram so ardently taken up under the Mughal patronage.

للهالکون از به حاکم و جلال شهر یار
گوهر من از - - - عدل آمد در کنار

¹ Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 248

NOTE.—The same with a high tribute of praise has been produced by Jahāngir with slight additions, in his *Tuzuk*, p. 2, Aligarh, 1864. Cf. his remark

اما خواجه حسن مری از لغت طبع و حسن فهم تصدیق کند که
کلامه سلطانیه توانی -

طاقتور - از آشیای حاشه و حدود آمد فروز
 کوکبی از اوج عروضا گردید آشکار
 گلشنی ایمنگونه دند دند بر دور جبین
 لاله ریمنگونه نکتون از میای لاله راز
 شد شد دلها که باران آرد ان دل و دان
 مار دنیا رنده شد کر مهر ایام بهار
 آن هلال درج قدر و حود و حاشه آمد برون
 و آن بهال آرد و آن نراه آمد بهار
 شاه اقلیم و ما سلطان ایوان صفا
 شمع شمع دیدلان کام دل امیدوار
 عادل کامل محرد اکبر صاحبزادان
 پادشاه نامدار کام و کامگار
 کامل دانا - قابل عادل شاهان مدبر
 عادل اعلا - عاقل دیبیدیل روزگار
 مایه اطاعت اله آن لایق تاج و نگین
 پادشاه دین پناه آن عادل عالم مدار
 مجلس ویرا - عالم چارمین دان و در
 موک ویرا - اک راجع آمد نیر داری
 نیر برج و - گوهر دریا - حود
 از - اوج دلها شاه باز و - آن آشکار
 پادشاهها - ملک لولوی نفیس آورده ام
 هدیه کان گرامی باز - دریا گوشتدار

کس نبرد حدیقه زین به اگر دارن کس
 هر که آرد گوشتا حشری که دارن گوشتار
 مصرع اول زوے سال ۱۰۰۰ هجری
 از دین مولود نور دیدن عالم برآر
 تا بود مائی حساب روزهای ماه سال
 وان حساب از سال و ماه و روز و دران پایدار
 ساه ما پاینده باد و بانی آن سهرزاده هم
 روزهای ۱۰۰۰ و ۱۰۰۰ سالهای ۱۰۰۰

The work is different from Khwāndāmīr's *Humāyūn Nāma* already noticed under Bābur. It was not written during Humāyūn's lifetime, but after his death by an unknown poet of his or his successor's court. This is evident from the fact that Humāyūn is nowhere mentioned by name but by his posthumous title *jannat ashyan* while Akbar is mentioned as the ruling monarch. It is written after the style and metre of Firdausi's *Shāh Nāma* commencing with the verse

شعیر خاطر بود فارغ از خواب
 دل از نور اسرای شد کاماب

Eight folios in the beginning and many at the end after 65b are missing. The author has attempted to follow Firdausi closely and to identify himself with him in the subject matter. This is

¹ Or 1797 B.M. MSS. fol. 9a.

perhaps the first instance in the literary history of the Mughals in India that the idea of writing an epic poem on the lines of Firdausi's *Shāh Nāma* and to idolise his hero, struck to a poet of Humāyūn's court. It is a valuable historical narrative of Humāyūn's and his predecessors' battles and conquests which are described in a language sufficiently worthy of the theme. A summary of its contents is as follows:

- I. Timūr's successors up to Humāyūn.
- II. Bābur's expedition to India, and his victory over Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī at Pānīpat.
- III. Bābur's illness. News carried to Humāyūn and his hurrying to Āgrā. Bābur's declaration of his successor in Humāyūn, and his death.
- IV. Humāyūn's coronation followed by a general feast. Great rejoicing in the country. Rich gifts given, and robes of honour conferred.
- V. His battles with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī and Shēr Shāh. The latter's counter-attack and Humāyūn's defeat and flight across Sindh. Birth of Akbar at 'Umarkōt.
- VI. His activities in Turkistān, Qandhār, and Cābul. His fight with Kāmran. Defeat and pardon of the latter.
- VII. Humāyūn's taste for astrology and his prophecy regarding Akbar's future greatness.

VIII His second expedition to Hindūstān His battles with the Afghāns and Sikandar Humāyūn's victory and accession to the throne.

The author has at places imitated Firdausi so closely in loftiness of expression beauty of language and daintiness of similes that it is sometimes hard to distinguish which is which. He must be a great poet indeed from among the very best poets of Humāyūn's or Akbar's reign.¹ Some of his lines by way of sample are quoted below from the B. M. codex —

Lines on Humāyūn's communication and fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī —

وایم ز دانا دلے هوشمند
 که عائد لشوارعد بکس ناپاد
 موصاً باثوام و خوش و تبار
 که آسمان ایشان بود رنگ و عار

¹ Shibli on the alleged authorship of *Badr-namā* states that Naziri, the famous lyric poet of Akbar's reign, had undertaken to write an epic poem entitled *Shah-Nama-i-Humāyūnī*, which remained unfinished, at the suggestion of Bahram Khān [Shih'r-ul-Ajam, Vol. III, p. 4]. I was unable to draw on the reference in *Badr-namā*, under both Naziri and Bahram Khān. Shibli has evidently confused Naziri, with Muziri, a less important poet, who, according to *Badr-namā* had undertaken the task [Vide Vol. III, pp. 240-41]. *Badr-namā* has also quoted one verse as sample which I could not find in the B. M. codex.

همایون عزت شعار
 بی خواران عاری بهوش و تبار
 مرستان در مهر بهادر پیام
 که نادان ترا میش و عزت مدام
 بهرمان روایی شای رفراز
 بخت و بدست شاه دعالی باراز
 یقین دهی که از شکر امروں شود
 در مائشکاری از دهر و زروں شود
 اگر در سویدی ز فرمانبری
 تو یعنی فرماندهام ایس داورى
 من از من امان کردم پیام
 تو دانی دگر بعد ازین و الام
 بهادر چو این نامه را کرد گوش
 در آمد چو فایده دانا در خروش
 مکتب ادبش بویس این جواب
 که آتش فروزن ز دریا آب
 چو فارغ شد از عرضان رخصه داشت
 درك زبان تمام ادب بار کاش
 بهادر چو دیار مستی درون
 دانا گفتند به زبان سرگرمون
 بهرمان شاه زمین و زمان
 جهانی دادی او شد روان

هر آمد غریب روان و بهاء
 به ملک و راندن هر دو سپاه
 در دریاچه ای که در آن مصاف
 در کین گرو برده از کوه قاف
 بده ساقیا بهاء از جام هوش
 که هر کس از و حرمه کرد نوش
 بهاء انصاف به نیلی حصار
 در آمد چو از بابل کارزار
 ملک برده از امان شب که
 بهی مسورت شاه خلوت گریخت
 حران همه چراغ جمع آمدند
 چو پروانها گرد شمع آمدند
 که شمع که در وقت حیات
 به پروانگی یافت از روی خطاب
 هر - شاه دریا نوال
 که در وصف او ناطقه ماند لال
 - لب کرم را در بار کردن
 جہلی را هر از در شهوار کردن

Lines on Humāyūn's march from Irāq to Qandhār and the capture of its fortress.

- - - که خانی حار سپاه
 برآمد ازین ایام بارگاه

چو ايسم اريس چرخ ديلاو فري
 نه عسکر بهامان و نه مسکری
 و ليکن نه قلعه در آمد سراغ
 دل راق را رفته ماند داغ
 چو قلعه هاں ترک سرکش فتاد
 فرد گفت در قلعه آتش فتاد
 ولے آسمان آتشے برفروفت
 که ماند دل دوزخ دوزخ
 دساں خريده دفينه تمام
 شدي مجلس آرا هر خاص و عام
 خريده مراسمات مان شد غراب
 زر "رح هر دو دواں چوں شراب

CHAPTER IV

The greater part of Humāyūn's reign was unsettled and chequered with misfortunes and exiles. The extent of progress made by Urdū in his reign is hardly ascertainable due to the scantiness of material but there could be no doubt that the same was progressing steadily in the whole of Upper Hindustān including the Punjab and the Gujarāt. The appearance of Hindi Persian poets in increasing numbers is a good testimony of the gradual hold of Hindi over Persian, and their mutual growth and free play with each other. An evidence of same is to be found in the talk of a parrot which was captured by Humāyūn in his fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī. When Humāyūn led an attack on Malwa in 942 A H Sultān Bahādur better known as Bahādur Shāh at the advice of his faithless General Rūmī Khān unwisely took refuge in the fort outside the city. Instead of meeting his enemy face to face in battle. The siege lasted for several weeks till at last Humāyūn's officers who had secretly wooed over Rūmī Khān to their side began to intercept the supplies of food sent to Bahādur Shāh which weakened the position of the besieged a great deal. In addition to this treachery Rūmī Khān one night caused his men to set fire to the royal magazine and this was followed by an attack from Humāyūn's troops who eventually entered the fort unmolested. Thus Bahādur Shāh was overcome

and fled to Gujarāt for his life. He had a favourite bird—a tūti which repeated what it heard like a human being. When it was brought to Humāyūn in the open court, Rūmī Khān also was invited by the king to be present. On Rūmī Khān's entering the court, Humāyūn courteously said, "خوش بیاید رومی خان" (welcome Rūmī Khān). The bird hearing his name screamed aloud "پاپی رومی خان، پاپی رومی خان، پاپی رومی خان" (Tut Rūmī Khān, sinner, untrue to salt, tut sinner, untrue to salt). All amazed, and Humāyūn said :

چکنم رومی خان حریف، که جاسور است، راوار
 نه زبانش از دهانش بر می کندم -

What can I do Rūmī Khān, alas, it is a bird, otherwise I would have pulled its tongue from its mouth.

The speech of the bird is a curious combination of Hindī, Persian and Arabic words, systematically arranged and put in a sentence.¹ This is perhaps the best example of Urdū that could be traced in the reign of Humāyūn, and serves to show how people were accustomed to talk in their homes and on private occasions. Of the many

¹ Mir'ātī Sikandarī MSS, dated 1087 A H, fol 107a

² Ibid, fol 108b

³ Ibid

⁴ *Phūt* and *Pāpī* are Hindī, and *namak* Persian, compounded with *harām*, Arabic. Also cf. a similar instance of a parrot speaking Persian cited under Bābur [Supra, p 76]

poets cited under Humāyūn Badā'uni has referred to some who composed both in Hindi and Persian. On the same authority we learn that their hybrid composition had found complete favour with the gentry and on several occasions sung before Humāyūn. Thus the already

existing relations between Hindi and Persian had drawn closer and more friendly under Humāyūn than under Bābur. Both the Hindūs and the Muslims now appear to have publicly given up their prejudices not only in the cultivation but also in the use of each other's literature. The Muslims though from the very beginning showed no such bias in the acquisition of Hindi language, yet they had not taken to do it so freely as they did now. The Hindūs too in their turn owing to their unavoidable social and political relations with the Muslims were doing the same. The Rājput Princes and the Hindū Rājās for holding necessary communications with the Muslim conquerors kept at their courts a special staff well-equipped to deal with the original Persian documents. In certain cases where the papers were of a confidential nature, the Rājās themselves used to attend to them. Similarly the Muslims behaved and kept a competent staff

Faked Hindi letters of Rājās to Shēr Shāh, and their supposed replies in Persian from the latter ready at hand to cope with Hindi correspondence. A good instance of the Rājās writing to Shēr Shāh fictitious letters in Hindi with their forged replies in Persian which were purposely

A definite
admix- made
by Urdu under
Hindu Muslim
cultivation of
each other's
literature.

thrown in the way of Rājā Māldeo, as a trap, and picked up and read by the latter personally, is to be found in the following. —

‘راحہا فرصہ۔ یافتہ ہوں شیر شاہ آمدند و دشواری
شیر شاہ کتابت از زبان امرا۔ مالدیو دیکھو ہندو
دشیر شاہ نوشتند کہ ما ہمار ضرورت تریں مدت
اطمان۔ مالدیو میگردیم۔ ... ہرگاہ کہ ہمار اثر اسلام
نزدیک ہرسد ما از را۔ مالدیو خدا شدہ ہو کہ
عالی ملحق میگردیم و موقوف ہوں مکاتیب۔ شیر از
زبان شیر شاہ نوشتند کہ، ایشاءالہ تعالیٰ ہند از فتح
و مغاریہ۔ مالدیو شاہ را ہرزو مکرم داشتہ۔ بیع اقطاع
موروٹی آباو اجداد شاہ را۔ ارانی میدارم۔ ... پس
آن کتابت مرور را بلطایہ الہیہ ہند۔ مالدیو
انداختند و مالدیو کہ شہزادہ ارمنیہ داران و امرا۔
ہند اندیشہ و شدہ در خاطر داشتہ از ہمالہ
مکاتیب ہر اسان شدہ۔ ... و کونہا و دیگر امرا۔
او ہر چند، شہزادہ۔ کردند و ہمد دیمقان۔

The Rājās obtaining opportunity came to Shēr Shāh, and in consultation with him wrote letters to him from the tongue of the *Umarā* of Māldeo in Hindī script, saying, “We through necessity did homage to Māldeo up till now. When the victorious army of Islām will reach near, we, having separated ourselves from Rājā Māldeo, will join your

Majesty's forces. And in accordance with these letters they also wrote from the tongue of Shēr Shāh stating God willing after our victory and subjection of Māldco I will hold you in honour and esteem and will reinstate you in all your ancestral possessions. Thereafter they made those false letters fall through clever devices into the hands of Māldco. And Māldco who always entertained fear and anxiety in his heart against his Zamīndārs and *Umārā* got terrified on perusing those letters and Kūnhaiyū and other nobles however much they counselled him it proved of no avail.

As a result of this harmony and interalliance

<p>Growth of Muslim poets of Hindi language and Hindu writers of Persian prose and poetry</p>	<p>Muslim poets of Hindi language on the one hand and Hindu writers of Persian on the other sprang up in ever so large numbers under the patronage of the later Mughal emperors.</p>
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During Hunmāyūn's absence from India the same feature prevailed in the reign of Shēr Shāh and the number of such poets as composed both in Hindi and Persian kept multiplying. The Muslim interest in Hindi literature under Shēr Shāh is evidently more marked than before due perhaps to his own predilections for Hindi. The appearance of a renowned poet of Hindi language Mallik Muhammad Jāisi, who is described under Shēr Shāh marks a new era in the history of Muslim lore in India. It is a notable

departure from the old customary traditions of mixing Hindi with Persian, for his poems were composed in terse Hindi almost to the exclusion of Persian vocabulary.



SHER SHAH SEATED ON HIS THRONE
[From an album of Pathán Kings]

CHAPTER V

A portion of the period of Humāyūn's rule is covered by Sher Shāh who held undisputed sway of Hindūstān for five years during Humāyūn's exile. His real name was Feroz and his title Sher Shāh which was conferred upon him by Sultan Mohommad ruler of Behar due to the extraordinary valor shown by Feroz in killing a tiger. On his defeating Humāyūn and ascending the throne at Delhi he changed Sher Shāh into Sher Shāh. His grandfather Ibrāhīm Sūr had come down to India from Afghanistan in the reign of Sultan Bahadur Lodi and served under him in various capacities. After Ibrāhīm's death his son Hasan Sūr took service under Jomai Khān an influential noble of Sikandar Lodi's court and received as *jagir* the important *parganas* of Sohāgpur and Khawaspur which remained for long a bone of contention between Feroz and his brothers.

In his early youth he had left his home through domestic unpleasantness for Jaunpur where he busied himself in the pursuit of knowledge and acquired a taste for history and literature. He studied Arabic grammar up to *Kāfiya* and sundry works of Persian poets like Sadi and Nizami.

Sher Shāh
his name and
parentage

His literary
attainment
and patronage
of letters.

فرید دقت‌زیب نامهربانی پدر و خصومت برادران
 جدا شده برك نوکری به ال‌خان دوده چاندگاه در بهار
 به تحصیل علوم و کتب کمالات میگزراید تا آنکه
 کتاب کافیه را با حواشی و دیگر متضامرات خواند و
 از کتب روان گلستان و بوستان و سکینه نامه و مدائن
 نیز استعانت حاصل کرد و نیز ارمون و وانی و مدارس گشته
 در صحیفه امام و مشایخ کمار آن دیار به بهره
 اخلاق مشغول شد -

Farid due to the unkindness of his father and the enmity of his brothers, having separated from them, and resigned his service under Jamāl Khān, passed some time at Jaunpūr in gathering knowledge and the acquirement of perfections, till the time he read '*Kāfiya*' with commentaries and other compendiums. And he also read the *Gulistān*, *Būstān*, and *Shikandar Nāma* and other works besides, and having approached monasteries and schools, he busied himself in the purification of morals in the society of the learned and the great Shaikhs of that locality

و در عن تاریخ دیر باوقوف شد -

¹ Badā'uni, Vol I, 357

Also, refer Qānūngō's life of Shūr Shāh.

² Tazkira-i Bagh-i Ma'āni (bound with Nafā'i's ul Ma'āsir),
 B.M MSS., Or 1761 fol 126a

And in the branch of history as well he became conversant.

Like his predecessor Sultan Sikandar Lodi he patronised the students of Arabic and Persian literature and attached great importance to educational merit in all public services. In his official and private life he had scholars and poets constantly attending him and was fond of listening to their literary discussions and participating in same. Once a Qāzi of his court who was accompanied by a young student, came to see him. The keen interest evinced by the latter in the youth and the patronage shown to him is described as follows:

A young student of Arabic rewarded by Sher Shah for constant answers to questions on Arabic grammar

“حوالی بالقاضی همراه - سرشاه از قاضی پرسید
که این همراهی شما میدانم که خوبى بسیار داشته
باشد اما هیچ وقت هم ندانم قاضی گفت طایف عام
است کاتبه میتواند سرشاه حوس کاتبه را با حواشی
درست بنگذرد داشت از آن طالعلم پرسید که عمر
در دست یا عمر در طرف طالعلم عرض نمود که عمر
در راست است راه فرمود که بجهت دلیل طایف لم از روی
هم بدلیلی بدلائیل معقولى جواب هر سوالی بدهد

[Tarikh-i Amir al-Mu'minin by David B. M.S. Or 197 fol. 77a.]

Also Cf. Bāgh-i Bāgh-i Kāshān wa Mashān al-Mu'minin al-Mu'minin

Ibid. fol. 80a

شیرشاہ فرمود کہ ہاں یہ ایک زمین و ہاں ایک روپیہ نقد ہو دینا طالب علم عرض نمود کہ دینا ایک قادیلیہ دیگر ہم دارن شیرشاہ فرمود کہ کدام قادیلیہ اسے گفتم حافظ کلام ربانی ام شیرشاہ فرمود کہ ہاں یہ ایک زمین و ہاں ایک روپیہ دیگر نوی دینا زائد معارف آن حالہ از طالب علم پرسید کہ موافق قادیلیہ خون معاش و در نقد ہستی عرض نمود کہ بلے یا اتم کرم پان شاہانہ دینا تم سیر شاہ فرمود کہ ہاں یہ ایک زمین و ہاں ایک روپیہ نقد دیگر دینا زائد -

A youth accompanied the Qāzi Shēr Shāh asked the Qāzi, "I presume that this comrade of yours bears some relationship with you, but does he possess any merit also"? The Qāzi replied, "The youth is a student, and reads '*Kāfiya*.' Shēr Shāh, since he had retained in his recollection the '*Kāfiya*' with its correct commentaries, asked that student, "Is '*Umar munsarif*' or '*ghair munsarif*'?" The student replied, '*ghair munsarif*.' Shēr Shāh said, "With what argument?" The student gave an intelligent answer with his arguments based on logical reasoning. Shēr Shāh ordered that 500 '*bigah*' of land and 500 rupees cash be given to him. The student said, "I possess one more merit." Shēr Shāh asked, "What is that?" The student replied, "I retain in my memory the Divine book." Shēr Shāh ordered that

500 *bigah* and 500 rupees more be added to his share. Simultaneously with that he asked the student: Did you get the means of living and the cash money according to your merits? The student replied: Yes, I got them, but I have not yet received the generosity of the king. Shēr Shāh ordered that 500 *bigah* of land and 500 rupees cash more be added.

He had a good taste for poetry and composed verses both in Persian and Hindi under the pen-name *Farid*. The following Persian verse of his own composition was his morogram which he got inscribed on his seal.

Hint: for
Persian and
Hindi poetry

خدا الله مائي ترا باد دایم
همان سر خدا من حسن سر قائم

God keep thee king for ever

Live in peace Shēr Shāh son of Hasan Sūr

On one occasion when Humāyūn's army in a contest with Shēr Shāh was completely routed and many of the soldiers and notable officers were drowned in

¹ Farīdāt, Vol. I, p. 473

NOTE.—The author of *Tārīkh-i Dā'adī* puts the first hemistich as follows:

خدا الله مائي ترا باد دایم

God the king (or God the Eternal king) may remain over him always

{166} B. M. MS. Or 187 fol 72a.

the river while crossing same, Shēr Shāh composed a very opportune quatrain as follows :

خدایا توانا تو بزرگو توئی
توانا درویش پرور توئی
زین حسن را تو شاهی دهی
سپاه مایوں اہی دهی

O God, Mighty and Rich art Thou,
Thou art the Mighty Supporter of the poor ;
Thou givest royalty to Farid, son of Hasan,
Thou givest the army of Humāyūn to the fish.

In his composition he followed the current Indian style which was on the lines of flowery Persian.

و شہر فارسی پرورش مردم ہمدردان گفتے

And Persian verses he composed after the manner of the people of Hindūstān

He also composed verses in Hindī and was a patron of Hindī poetry. The chief Hindī and Persian poets of his court were respectively Malik Muhammad Jā'isi (the author of Padumāwat), and Shaikh 'Abdul Hai, son of Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh.

There is a Persian-Arabic verse of his as follows :

¹ *Tarīkha i Bugh i Ma'āni* (bound with *Nafais ul Ma'asir*)
B M MSS, Or. 1761, fol 130a

² *Tarīkh i Du'udī*, B.M. MSS, Or 197, fol 77a

با ما چه کردی مملو غلام ؟ دی
قوائے - - - لا خیر فی الہ دی

With us what did Mullū do ? the slave the
cursed
The Prophet has said, There is no good in
slaves

He evinced good taste and fine poetic humour on many occasions. Once on being told that his beard had grown white, he replied that it was true since he wore the crown towards the evening of his life.

He died while storming the fort of Kālnjar in 952 A.H. through the bursting of an enemy rocket which caused a fire in the magazine. The date of his death was found in the most suggestive phrase (آتش سرد) in the following chronogram composed by one of his court poets.

شہرشاہ آنکہ از مہانت او
سرد ہو آب را بہم آرد

¹ *Raṣṣ* I, Vol. I, p. 383.

NOTE.—Shēr Shāh had composed this poem on the day when Mullū Khān, ruler of Mālwa playing false, had one night suddenly disappeared from Shēr Shāh's camp, although the latter had shown him great favour and taken him into service.

Farīshṭa attributes the second hemistich to Shāikh Abdol Halī who had composed it offhand to match with Shēr Shāh's first hemistich [*Farīshṭa*, Vol. I, p. 421.] The same is corroborated by Nizāmoddin Ahmad Tabaqat-i Akbari, p. 231.]

² *Farīshṭa*, Vol. I, p. 422.

ار جهان رفت گفت بپیر خود
 "ال تاراج او در آتش مرد"

Shēr Shāh is he through whose terror,
 The lion and the goat drank water together ;
 He went away from the world ; old Wisdom
 uttered,

The year of his death, "from the fire he died "

Historians are unanimously agreed that Shēr Shāh was a just, wise, and capable monarch, and his

reign was distinguished for peace and tranquillity. Badāūnī congratulates himself on his birth having taken place in the reign of a just monarch like Shēr Shāh¹ in the following words which shower a most glowing tribute of praise that could ever be paid to any Muslim king :

و بحمد الله که در زمان این چنین ملکی که، ا قال الله
 علیه السلام انا ولدت فی زمان ائمه العادل تولد ...
 این منم که در هفتم شهر ربیع الثانی در سنه ...
 و اردیبهشت و ... واقع شد -

And God be praised that in the regime of such a king as said by the Prophet (may peace be upon him), " I was born in the reign of a just monarch," the birth of the author

¹ This encomium of Badāūnī is significant since he had no word of praise for his own sovereign, Akbar, by whom he was patronised

² Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 363



TOMB OF SHER SHAH AT SASARAM
DT SHAHRAD BENOAL.

of this *Muntakhab* took place on the 17th of the month of *Rabi' as Sūn* in the year 947 A H

Farishta holds the same view of Shēr Shāh's just and peaceful administration and says that he performed many deeds of public good in building *Cāravānsarāis* for the *Hindūs* and the *Muslims* alike on the main roads from *Bengāl* to the *Indus* (a distance of 1600 *kōs*) and from *Āgra* to *Mandū* (a distance of 300 *kōs*) requisitioning them with plentiful supplies of food and provision and making these routes perfectly safe for journey

و در هر يك كروه سراي ساخته چاه و ...
 و گنج پرده اخته مؤنس و مقري و امامي مقرر
 نموده آنها را و ... معين كرده و در هر سراي يك دروازه
 طعام پخته و خام برآيه ...
 برآيه ... مقرر نموده ...
 بودند كه مقررين در ... و نيابان هر چاه ...
 از كالاے خود ... فكرت به فراغت مي غنودند گویند
 اگر زالى با ... از طلا در ...
 ... ان اصلا نمودي اكثر اوقات خود را
 صرف كار خلاقى كرنى و سر اهتمام سياه و تسار رعایا
 بواجبى نمودي و بر طرفه عدل و داد استقامت داشتى -

And at the end of every *kōs* he got built a *Sarāi* a mosque and a well, from hme and

baked brick. He appointed a 'mu'azzin,' a reader of the Qur'ān, and an Imām, and fixed gratuities for each of them. And in every *Sana't* he fixed one gate for cooked food and rations for the Muslims, and another similar gate for the Hindūs. And in his reign such was the public security that travellers in jungle and desert, wherever they reached, went to sleep without apprehension for their property. It is said that if an old woman with a tray full of gold slept at nights in a desert there was no need for a watch at all. Often he devoted himself to public service and duly attended to the affairs of his army and the welfare of his subjects, and persevered in the path of equity and justice.

He is a most important poet of the court of Shēr Shāh. He combined the Sanskrit and Persian scholarship with poetic attainments, and was regarded as a Sūfī. He was patronised by Shēr Shāh whom he eulogised in his memorable Hindi poem, the '*Padumāvatī*' which was a notable undertaking by a Muslim. It was

Malik Muhammad Jā'is
a poet of
epoch-making
significance

¹ A woman of remarkable beauty daughter of the Rājā of Ceylon seized by the Rājā of Chittaur, and afterwards fell in possession of Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī. Her story is also written in Persian poetry by one Husain Ghaznawī. Another by Rājā Gobind Munshi. Also in Urdū verse by the joint efforts of Mīr Zayn'uddīn 'Ibrat, and Ghulam 'Alī 'Ishrat.



MAFIZ MUHAMMAD JAINI THE RENOWNED
POET OF SHEER SHAH

[Kindly lent by Prof A Qazi Faisal M.A Lucknow University]

written in 947 A.H. in terse Hindi language occasionally mixed with Persian and easy Hindi words. The most curious thing was that he adopted Persian characters for his text, an event of epoch making significance in the history of both Hindi and Persian literatures in India.

Malik Muhammad is we believe the oldest poet of Hindūstān of whom we have any uncontested remains. The preservation of Padmāvatī is due mainly to the happy accident of Malik Muhammad a religious reputation. Although profoundly affected by the teaching of Kabir and familiarly acquainted with Hindū lore and with the Hindū Yōga philosophy he was from the first revered as a saint by his Muhammadan co-religionists. He wrote his poem in what was evidently the actual vernacular of his time, tinged slightly with an admixture of a few Persian words and idioms due to his Musalmān predilections. It is also due to his religion that he originally wrote it in the Persian character and hence discarded all the favorite devices of Pandits who tried to make their language correct by spelling vernacular words in the Sanskrit fashion. He spelled each word rigorously as it was pronounced. His work is hence a valuable witness to the actual condition of the vernacular language of the 16th century.¹

G. H. Grierson and M. H. Bhattacharya, *Śrī Rām Karm Devīdī, Padmāvatī*, Vol. I, Introduction, Calcutta, 1911.

He was a disciple of two prominent Sūfis, Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngir and Sayyid Muhr'ūddīn,¹ whose praises he sang in his poems calling them as his masters and steersmen. He also poured unqualified praise on Shēr Shāh for his just and peaceful reign, and for his literary patronage.. He is one of the three great Muslim poets of Hindī² who flourished in India in the 16th century A D., and helped towards the formation and growth of modern Urdū the lingua franca of India

¹ These two in their lifetimes had considerable influence over the people of Upper Hindūstān, and belonged to the Chishtiya Nizāmīya order

² The other two being Kabīr of the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lōdī (already described under Bābur), and Rahīm of the reign of Akbar (to be discussed hereafter)

CHAPTER VI

He met his tragic death at Delhi in 963 A H by an accidental fall from the terrace of his library where he often retired in the after-
Humāyūn's death. noons to amuse himself with books.

That evening also according to his wont, having examined his bookshelves he walked on to the terrace to enjoy fresh air. Just when he was descending the staircase the *madrās* gave a call to prayers on hearing which he went down on his knees in holy reverence. When the *azān* was over he rose supporting himself on a staff which unfortunately slipped upon the marble and he fell down headlong several steps. He received great injuries in his head and arm and was removed to his palace insensible. On the fifth day he expired.¹ Thus ended the life of one of the most

¹ Padarūni and Abul Fazl have probably used the Turki work *Asi'at ul Afanālik* of Sidi Ali Reis who was then personally present at the court and describes the event with almost the same accuracy of detail as do Padarūni and Abul Fazl with the following notable differences.

(1) Sidi Ali Reis omits to say from what part or section of the castle Humāyūn fell while Padarūni and Abul Fazl make it quite clear by stating that the fall occurred from the building known as *Asāb al-Adab* (library).

humane monarchs of the Mughal dynasty, a lover of science and literature, and a character nobler than any to be found in the long line of the Mughal kings

The court poets wrote chronograms¹ each trying to excel the other in poetic grace and plain-tiveness. Of the numerous chronograms the best was of Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī quoted by Jauhar and reproduced on p 55 *supra* Elegiac poems were also written

Elegiac
poems.

- (11) Sidi 'Alī Reīs makes Humāyūn die on the fourth day of his fall Cf the statement

کہ ۱۲ الہی ، چہ کون انتقام فحازی و تادہ پادشاہ..... ہوگا
کون دار و ستون جوار و جمع انتقال ایتدیلر -
[Mir'at ul Mamālik, p 55],

while Abul Fazl on the fifth day, and Badā'ūnī on the ninth. Cf the statement

در تاریخ ۱۲م شهر ربیع الاول پادشاہ در بالائے بام کتابخانہ در
آورد و در حین ورود آمدن پائے ایشان نالید و از بند ریخت
پایہ ۱۲ روز بزمیون آمدند و در پانزدہم ماہ مذکور این عالم بیوتا را
ببرود کردند -

[Badā'ūnī, Vol I, pp 465-466]

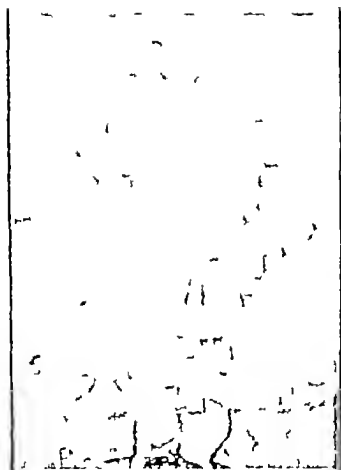
I suspect that پانزدہم is a misprint for یازدہم If, so, the versions of Badā'ūnī and Abul Fazl tally with Jauhar who, though gives no details, yet declares that the fall took place on the 7th and the death on the 11th

¹ Cf Maulānā Hīsārī's chronogram

و اول حق شد ہمیں پادشاہ

(Humāyūn Pādishāh united with God) Also Cf. Mir

اے وائے پادشاہ من از بام ارتداد
O alas! my king fell down from the terrace (Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p 868)



HUMAYUN'S REMAINS BEING CARRIED TO THE BURIAL GROUND
THE YOUNG PRINCE AKBAR ACCOMPANYING THE CORTEGE.
(Acquired at Lucknow)

of which the most touching was from the pen of Khwaja Hosain Mervani as follows

اے دل صدا اے مرگ ترا عم از دلی است
 صمم اذل نام عمت ممدلی است
 درون گل نفس ذائق الموت حکم شد
 ممدان نفس کہ شرف مرگت از دلی است
 این نام زندگی کہ نہادند بر ترا
 نام ترا بطرف ممانت از دلی است
 عرق مسو نابین گل بہستان زندگی
 یا خراں درون گل و بہستان و زندگی است
 از گوس خوبستن سنوی گل نالان نالاند
 در گوس دیگران خمرت ہم رسیدنی است

O heart, thou too hast to hear the call of
 death
 The morn of death is to appear on the hori-
 zon of thy life
 Since it was ordained every soul must taste
 of death
 know for certain that thou hast to taste the
 drink of death
 This name of life that they gave to thee
 is only to draw thy name towards death
 Do not pride thyself on this rose of the
 garden of life

The wind of autumn has to blow in this rose
and the garden,
Thou hearest with thine own ears that a
certain one passed away,
In the ears of others thy news also has to go

Humāyūn, unlike his father, was a monarch
more of literary tendencies than of administrative
His wit and bent¹ and possessed a keen sense
humour of humour hardly surpassed by any

- ¹ He was so fond of study that he took his books with him everywhere in his travels. Even in his flight under adverse circumstances he did not suffer to leave behind his library of which he took great care during all his journeys to and from Persia, across the deserts and in the thick of battles against his foes. Of his inquisitiveness about the same after his party was attacked by Kāmran

چوں کامران میرزا ۱۵۲۰ء و ۱۵۲۱ء حوت فید دات - کہ پادشاه
از یکه ارگي - ماه کرد و دروں شاه طالق در آمد - حضرت حمر
از کتابخانه پر شد عرض کردند که سلا - ۱ - ۱ - ۱ -

Since Kāmran Mirzā saw a large crowd with banners he thought it was his Majesty and attacked at once, and entered the fort of Tāhgan. His Majesty enquired about the library. They replied that it was quite safe (Tazkirat ul Wāq'at. B. M. MSS., Add. 16711, fol. 99a). Also cf., his delight at receiving books presented to him by a Persian noble at Zankun near Tabriz.

و - یں قلی میرزا برادر ا - ۱۵۲۱ - ۱۵۲۰ء از - ۱۵۲۰ء بدین والدہ
و برادران آمدہ ہوں کہ - ۱۵۲۰ء مکہ - ۱۵۲۰ء حوالہ نماید ندگان
حضرت را ملزم کرد کتاب و دے کہ دات پر آمدن نمود از
کتابا از پے عوش آمدند گرفتہ و کتاب را باو - ۱۵۲۰ء

other monarch of his line. In his display and appreciation of wit he may be compared to his ancestor Timūr, in his love for science to Ulugh Beg and in his poetic insight to Jahāngīr. A few instances of same are quoted below:

و قرچه خان را در گرس کرده آوردند حوں
 ل که نرنجك دربار بود رسد حکم کردند که حوں
 مرد ریس - لک است و حد رهم گفته ایم در از گرس
 او بردارند بعد ازاں ن قلی - لک ان مهر دار
 این لب را خواند

حراغمه را که امرد بر نرورژ

هر آنکو لب زند ریس بسوزد

و قرچه خان حوں ریس دراز داشت این لب و لک واقع
 شد حضرت ارباب - لک کمال خو - لک الی نمودند -

And they brought Qarjā khān with sword
 hning round his neck. When he reached the
 torch which was near the Audience Hall

And Husain Qutb Mirzā, brother of Ahmad Sultan, who
 had come from Mashad to see his mother and brothers to
 obtain leave for Mecca, interviewed his Majesty and
 presented some books which he possessed. Out of these
 books his Majesty took some which pleased him and
 gave back the rest.

(Tarikh-i-Humayūn, J O MSS., 223, fol. 3b.)

Also of his death by a fall from the terrace of his
 library to which he repaired in the afternoons for his
 mental recreation.

¹ Ibid., foll. 36b and 37a.

Humāyūn ordered that as Qarjā Khān was grey-haired and we had also perjured his blood, the sword should be removed from his neck. After this Husain Qulī Sultān, the seal-bearer, recited this verse.

The lamp which is lit by God,
Whoever puffs at it his beard burns
And since Qarjā Khān had a long beard this
verse came opportune. His Majesty enjoyed
this wit in the extreme

Another instance of his ready wit is to be found in the following

شیخ علی بیگ بیهود چون دربار را گفتم که عمار کدامی
است سرت بادشاه رفته دلدۀ بیهود مدکور . روان شد
دیار - سرت دریں "وار امتان بی" یمنند که کدام "وار
اینکه می آید مردم بقیاس عرض کردند که بیهود چون دربار
باشد سرت پادشاه به اول دربارت دیار گروست و فرمودند
که ایشان را دلدۀ بیهود حواحد بود -

Shaikh 'Alī Bēg asked Bihbūd Chūbdār to go and congratulate his Majesty. The aforesaid Bihbūd started off. The eye of his Majesty fell on this rider and he asked, "Who is this rider that cometh"? People by mere guess replied that he might be 'Bihbūd' Chūbdār. His Majesty took this to be a good omen and said, "God be pleased, it would be 'bihbūd'" (i.e., it would turn out good)

On one occasion Humāyūn composed a *qut'a* in which he very beautifully played on the word چتر (chitaur) and sent it on to Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī

اے کہ مے کی علم شہر چتر
 کافراں را چتر چتر
 بادشاہی رسد ہر سر تو
 تو مے چتر چتر

O thou who art the enemy of the city of
 Chitaur

How (chitaur) wilt thou capture the un-
 believers?

A king has reached over thy head
 Sitting art thou taking Chitaur?

¹ Farishta, Vol. I, p. 399

CL. B. Bahādur Shah's reply

مے کہ علم شہر چتر * کافراں را چتر
 مے کہ علم شہر چتر * تو بھی کس چتر

I, who am the enemy of Chitaur
 Will capture the infidels by force
 Who's as at war in defence of Chitaur
 Thou may'st see how I capture him also

It may be observed that Bahādur's reply is only a *replique* of Humāyūn's wit, and carries no originality or improvement upon the latter

He was a monarch of great humanity and possessed of very noble traits of character.¹ He was disposed to spend his time more in literary and peaceful concerns than aggression and military tactics on the battlefield.

His gentlest behaviour towards his brothers² through whose undisguised hostility he suffered

¹ Cf Shāh Tahmāsp's remark about Humāyūn's character on his interceding for the pardon and release of two of his enemies who had poisoned the Shāh's mind against him, and were eventually convicted for the offence

چوں رقعہ رسید و خواندند حضرت شاه عالم پناه در تعب شدند
و فرمودند که من و همایون پادشاه چه نام دارد این مردم در پی
آزار و کشتن درینو افتادہ ایشان یکزد -

When the letter reached and the Shāh read it, he became astonished and said, "What, clement disposition does Muhammad Humāyūn Pādīshāh possess! These people were seeking his injury, but he intercedes for them [Jauhar, B M MSS, Add. 16,711 fol 79a]

Also cf his reply to the counsel of one of his officers to take possession of Rājā Māldeo's territory where Humāyūn's party was then taking shelter and had procured plentiful supply of grain and water

اگر طرغ پادشاهی دے دین بدهند من اینچنین کار قبول
نکران نمی کنم

If they were to give me the kingship of the whole world, I will not commit so foul a deed or be guilty of such ingratitude [Ibid.]

Cf his reply to the counsel of his Generalissimo importuning him to kill Kāmran who was in intrigue with Shēr Shāh, and seeking to dispossess Humāyūn of his kingdom

exile and reverses in his fights with Sher Shāh is a glorious chapter in history and a splendid trait in his character. One sublime example of his tender grateful and generous nature is to be found in the munificent reward that he gave to a poor water-carrier who had helped him with a sheep-skin when his horse had slipped from underneath him in crossing the Ganges at Chausa. ¹ It is a romantic and almost

دوای این دنیا به نایاب و برادر خود را از جان بیعت نمی کنم
ایستمن که نایابم از من نمی آید

For this perishable world I will not render my brother from life to lifeless, and such unworthy act will not emanate from me [Ibid., fol. 24b]

Of the protests of his brothers against this measure and the *ta'ala* inadvisability due to the grave risks involved in compelling his nobles to bow publicly to a mortal at a time when danger from Sher Shāh was threatening

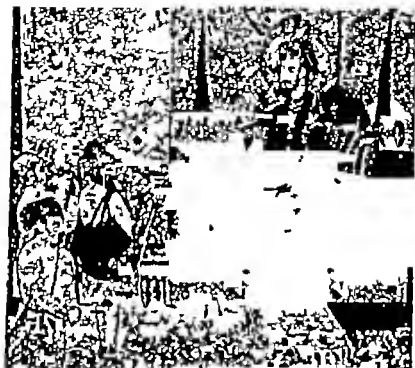
فرش آن نام ستا را بر پشت نشاند و حکم فرمود که همه
امرایان گویان بنام شاه بکشد و نام هر کسی هر چه خواهد
بشد و صاحب بدهد تا هر روز به آن نام پادشاهی دادند میرزا
هدای فر آن مجلس نه فرمود میرزا کامران نیز نیامدند... و
... گفتند بستانند که نام را بپوشی و در پناه دیگر نایست
کرد چه اگر یوه که بر پشت نشاند در پی ولایت که غیر علی نرفتی
رسیده این چه کار است که به به به

To be brief his Majesty made the slave water-carrier sit on the throne and gave order that all the *Amirā* should make obeisance to that slave water-carrier and the slave might bestow on any one whatever he liked and confer *mansab*. Till two days his Majesty gave royalty to that

unheard-of instance in modern history that a monarch ever rewarded the services of any of his truest, bravest, or loyalst officers, much less a menial of the rank of a water-carrier, with seating him on the royal throne

menial Mirzā Hindāl was not present in that assembly, and Mirzā Kamrān too did not attend, and sent word to his Majesty saying, "To the slave gifts and other kinds of concessions should be granted. What need is there that he should sit on the throne at a time when Shēr Khān has approached near? What is this work that your Majesty is doing?"

[Gulbadan Begam, Humāyūn Nāmā, p. 44]



THE FAMOUS WATER-CARRIER *king* WHO HAD HELPED
 HUMAYÜN WITH A SHEEP-SKIN WHEN CROSSING THE
 RIVER AT CHAUSA APPEARING FOR HIS REWARD
 BEFORE THE EMPEROR WHO IS SEEN ISSUING
 ORDERS TO HIS SECRETARY

[Sourced through Mr S M Asim Ansari B.A., Law
 student, Aligarh]

CHAPTER VII

A great tribute of praise is paid by some Persian and English historians to Shāh Tahmāsp for his very noble and generous reception of Humāyūn. Sir John Malcolm the great historian and authority on Persian affairs writes thus

The reign of Shāh Tahmāsp owes much of its celebrity to the truly royal and hospitable reception he gave to the Emperor Hoomāyūn when that monarch was forced to fly from India and take shelter in his dominions. The Persians have in all ages boasted of their hospitality and the vanity of every individual is concerned in supporting the pretensions of his country to a superiority over others in the exercise of this national virtue and we know no example of a distressed monarch being so royally welcomed so generously treated and so effectually relieved. All means of the kingdom were called forth to do honour to the royal guest and they were as liberally furnished to replace him upon his throne. Tahmāsp merited the

praise which his conduct upon this occasion obtained him from distant nations."'

This is an exaggerated, and to an extent erroneous account of the reception and the help given to Humāyūn. It is neither supported by reference to any historical source, nor its validity sufficiently tested. Persian writers also, especially of later date, express such views which similarly are based on no historical data. Some observations from "the artless and transparently truthful narrative of Humāyūn's personal attendant Jauhar," are reproduced below.

¹ Sir John Malcolm, History of Persia, Vol I, 50E

NOTE.—The help eventually given by the Shāh consisted of several thousand foot and cavalry which dispersed soon after the conquest of Qandhār, with all its treasures surrendered to them. Humāyūn then recruited fresh soldiers with whose help he was able to conquer Cābul, and there studiously busied himself from four to five years in making special preparations for his attack on India. He sent rich presents to all the great chiefs of Qandhār, Samargand, Bukhārā, and other towns, inviting them to join him in his expedition, giving them great hopes for the future. It was to this newly raised army led under his command after five years of his return from Persia that he virtually owes his throne of India. Cf his '*masnawī*' quoted on p 18 supra. Also, Cf Jauhar, fol 127a

نصرت پادشاه دریں حالها سیر میکردند و اول آنکه و ...
 زن را ... و بشارا و ...
 سرعت فرستاد و ...
 ... دارد انشاءالله تعالی اگر تشریف آرند ...
 بیایند تا یکبار شکار ...

علي الصباح حضرت شاه عالم کوچ کرده در مقام
 - ۱۷۱ - فرود آمدند... حضرت پادشاه
 بسلام رفته بودند که خندان التفات
 مطالب خود ننمایان داشت. خاطر
 - ۱۷۲ - دند و خود را الزام کردند گرفتار
 که کارهای نمی آمدیم و از برای مهمانی حضرت پادشاه
 صبر جمیع کرده بودند که در رت شاه گفته فرستادند
 که اگر در دس ما در آیند در ترم - می باسم و إلا
 به تمامی اهل - لایم شارا درین صبرم آنس داده خواهم
 - ۱۷۳ - در رت پادشاه گفته فرستادند که ما بدین
 خود قایم مقام - ۱۷۴ - هم آمدیم و ما را خندان آرزوی پادشاهی
 هم - ۱۷۵ - و هر چه - ۱۷۶ - به اراده خدا می فرماید است دل
 خود را بار - ۱۷۷ - ایم -

Early in the morning the Shāh (Tahmāsp) having marched arrived and halted at Sultāniyā. His Majesty (Humāyūn) had gone to greet him but seeing no attention paid to himself was grieved at heart, and began to accuse himself saying: Would that I had not come! And for the entertainment of his Majesty they had collected some firewood. The Shāh sent a verbal message saying: If you enter into our religion we will extend our support, otherwise with all your co-religionists we shall burn you alive in this pile of

wood." His Majesty returned the message, "we are firm in our religion, we came, and we do not entertain much desire even for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God the Great, and the High. We have bound our heart to Him."

Humāyūn approached by Shāh Tahmāsp to accept the Shī'a faith.

Shortly afterwards Humāyūn was approached through a special messenger of the Shāh to accept the Shī'a faith under a similar threat.

قامی جهان وکیل - در ملازمی - در
 مادی آید عرض کرد که شما تنها در شیعیه از ما
 قریب هشتصد کس کشته خواست شد

Qāzī Jahān, the Vakīl of the Shāh, came to his Majesty and said, "You are not alone On your account about seven hundred people will be put to death."

Apart from this, Shāh Tahmāsp was all the time actually thinking to take Humāyūn's life which

Humāyūn's life saved through the noble intervention of Shāh Tahmāsp's daughter.

was saved only through a happy accident. The Shāh revealed his secret to his son Bahrām Mīrzā, who out of compassion divulged it to his sister through whose tender pleadings the situation was changed, and to whose

truly noble spirit Humāyūn owes his life and all his subsequent career :

الغرض يك روز حضرت ساء عالم پناه با بهرام میرزا
در مجلس ملائمت دستلی بودند حضرت پادشاه فرمودند
ازین مجلس میرزا غلبه گرفت که وقت کردیم
خود این ماحوا ظاعری ساخت که همایون پادشاه از نسل
تیمور پادشاه بنای خون به ادا داری تمام آمد و چند
مدت گذشت که ما او عمده شدیم این درین و لا ساء
عالم پناه حکم باطل نمیکردند چون این روز
که نگرفتیم آمد که حضرت شاه در خانه آن
رسید بهرام میرزا سلام کردند و در وقت و حضرت ساء نزل
فرمودند و پرسیدند - بگریستن - عرض کرد که
هر روز خون منگرم باز فرمودند که سلامتی ما بهتوا بعد
گفت همیشه در دعای حضرت ساء عالم پناه شغول فاما
سما هر چهار طرف من دارین و نموده من که
من همایون پادشاه پسر و پادشاهان دارن پادشاهان
اوجہ من می آید اگر هر احوال او رحم کند و
سرم از نفر نمایند و امدان او بکلی ندارند کنند
تا در هر جا که داند برون ساء عالم پناه این کلام
در ساعت تسلی شد و گفت تمام امرايان و ملائمت
خون عرض نمیکردند فاما بهتر ازین که تو
منگونی -

To be brief one day the Shāh talked with
Bahrām Mirzā of the killing of Humāyūn.

From this speech the Mirzā being overcome with grief wept, and divulged this affair to his sister saying, "Humāyūn Pādishāh from the progeny of Timūr Pādishāh has come on foot with all hopes, and some period has elapsed since we have eaten the salt together. At this time the Shāh ordered a wrong thing." When this chaste lady heard this speech she burst into tears. In the meantime the Shāh entered her house. Bahrām Mirzā saluted him and went out. And the Shāh halted and asked what was the reason for her crying. She said, "I weep on my day." The Shāh again said, "Wish our welfare." She said, "I am always busy in my prayer for your Majesty, but you have on all the four sides enemies. And it is heard that Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh has a son and brothers. What good should come to hand by torturing him? If you do not take pity on his affairs and exalt and help him, you should bid him farewell, so that whatever place he knows of he may go to." The Shāh listened to this speech and got pacified in that moment, and said, "All the 'Umarā expressed their unwise policies, but there is nothing better than what thou sayest."

CHAPTER VIII

During Humāyūn's reign poets and scholars from all parts of Persia, Turkistān, Bukhārā, and Samarqand continued to emigrate to India in larger numbers than before. Besides those already mentioned there were many like Maulānā Abdul Bāqī

Exodus of
poets and
scholars from
Persia to
India.

Sadr Turkistānī, Mir Abdul Halī Bukhārī, Khwāja Hījri Jāmi, Maulānā Bāzmi, Mullā Muhammad Sūlīh and Mullā Jān Muhammad who accompanied Humāyūn on his second entry into Hindūstān. The two popular poets Jāhī Yatmiyān of Bukhārā and Halratī of Māwarā un Nahr had entered Humāyūn's service at Cabul and received his favours. Similarly Khwāja Ayyūb from Māwarā un Nahr, Maulānā Nādirī from Samarqand and Maulānā Junūbī from Badakhshān all journeyed from their homes to Āgra and received mansabs.

A large majority of scholars like Mir Abdul Latīf Qazwīnī, Maulānā Abul Qāsim

¹ Bā Yazid, Tarikh-i Humāyūn, IO MSS 223 foll. 72b-76a.

Astrābādī, Shaikh Abul Wājīd Fārighī Shirāzī, and Shauqī Tabrizī, came actually from the Persian towns and the Safawī court itself which, *de facto*, did not rise to the height of the munificence of the Indian courts in their patronage of Persian prose and poetry.' The last-named, Shauqī Tabrizī, who was

Part played by the Mughal as compared with the Safawī in the uplift of Persian prose and poetry

Poets under the Safawī, were on an average, paid from 20 to 30 'tūmāns' for their 'qasāid' and eulogies of the court. There is one instance discovered of a panegyrist of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great—Shānī Taklū—who was once weighed in gold for his beautiful poetry, and on his retirement from the Shāh's service got a stipend of 20 'tūmāns' a month (a sum equal to sixty rupees). Against this solitary instance of Persian munificence, a good many brighter ones of Indian courts may be quoted. Cf—

- (i) Zuhūrī receiving several elephants loaded with gold and silver and other rich presents for his Sāqī Nāma in praise of Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar [Sar-Kush, Kalāmāt ush Shu'arā—account of Zuhūrī]
- (ii) 'Urfī receiving from the Khān i Khānān 100,000 rupees in reward for a 'qasīda' [Ibid, Account of Khān i Khānān.]
- (iii) Hayātī Kāshī was weighed in gold by Jahāngīr for his verses on the style of Khusrāu's Tughlaq Nāma. So also, Sa'idā i Gilānī [Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī p 240]
- (iv) Abū Tālib Kalīm, Sa'idā i Gilānī, and Bāfiyā, all weighed in gold by Shāh Jahān
- (v) Maulvī 'Abdul Hakīm Sūlkōtī weighed twice in gold
- (vi) 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, author of Shāh Jahān Nāma, was similarly weighed in gold, in addition to receiving a large sum in cash, on completion of his history

an organ of the poetical assemblies arranged by Šām Mirzā at the Safawī court, had left the Prince's service only to enter Humāyūn's.¹ Similarly Shaikh Abul Wajid Fārihī who came from Shirāz was a pauper and had not with him even a pair of spare clothes to put on except the one ragged old garment which he had on his body. A good many poets and scholars came after Shāh Tahmāsp in the reign of Shāh Abbās the Great. The one notable example is that of Māsh Rukn-i Kāshī who is reckoned among the best poets of Persia in his day and was the chief poet of the court of Shāh Abbās. The Shāh not only failed to extend the patronage he deserved but on one occasion even thought the favour he was showing him was too much for a poet, in consequence of which he left the court and came away to India in the reign of Akbar. This is the age when the liberalities of the Deccan and the

(vii) Qodāt, a most notable instance in the history of Mughal patronage received in reward for a *qasida* from a rich noble of Shāh Jahān's court, all his estate in landed and movable property with heaps of gold and silver and his mouth was filled seven times with precious jewels by Shāh Jahān himself.

(viii) Nazir receiving from Kāshān 100 000 rupees cash and 20 000 gold mohars from Jahāngir.

¹ Oriental Biographical Dictionary p. 232. Cf. the statement: "He left the service of Šām Mirzā and went with the Emperor Humāyūn."

Badauni Vol I p. 476. Cf. the statement:

از کاشی ملوک لیر از کلاه فرسوده با خرد انعام

Lutf Ali Beg Azar Ātaabkādā, p. 239

Mughal kings in jealous rivalry with each other were attracting, more than they did ever before, the Persian poets and scholars from the remote corners of Persia, and the Western and Central Asia. Not only the Mughal kings but their 'Umarā too, extended an equal patronage to these literate emigrants, who in their turn sang praises of their benefactors in their beautiful poems which resounded in Persia and served as an impetus to others who yet lagged behind. This is one of the main reasons why the literary activities at the Indian courts in the field of Persian literature outweigh those of the Persians in Persia. The elegant poetry written in this and the later periods, and the useful literature produced in the shape of histories, translations from Sanskrit and Hindi works, biographies of poets, and dictionaries of Persian language and idiom, stand a contrast and a marvel to Persia.

Various explanations are offered by Persian writers for the non-appearance of any great poets in Persia under the Safawī rule. As a matter of fact both the 16th and the 17th centuries were notably poor in the number and the quality of poets produced in Persia. The chief reason for this lull, as pointed out by Iskandar Munshi—the celebrated historian of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great, was the change in the mentality of the Shāh and of the people from the panegyric to the religious poetry or Muharram mournings which constitute strophes in praise of the

Causes of the dearth of notable poets in Persia under the Safawīs as put forward by Persian historians.

Martyrs Imām Hasan and Imām Husain¹ The same view is endorsed by subsequent Persian and English chroniclers.² It is also declared that the panegyrists were not tolerated by the Persian kings and consequently no poets of note appeared at their court and even if they did they were discouraged and no reward was held out to them for their eulogies. The Safawis we are told maintained that the person of the Imāms and not that of the kings was worthy of the encomiums of the poets.

While all this may be admitted as a distraction it cannot at the same time be any real reason for the following considerations First, that the panegyrists did exist under each of the Safawi kings, and received rewards for their encomiums on the person of the Shāh and second that the *morsiyos* (or the Muharram mournings) did not and could not in the least stop other kinds of poetry The production of the former as compared with the latter is only a drop in the ocean The poet Qāsimi for instance, was a panegyrist of Shāh Ismā'ili and was rewarded no less for his *Qasā'id* than for his other poems, of which however none was in praise of

Weakness of
their conten-
tion.

¹ The latter is best known by his revered title of "Sayyid ush Shuhadā" whose martyrdom at Kербala is a memorable event in the history of Islam and is the subject of universal mourning

² Cf. Browne Persian Literature in Modern Times, pp. 172-3.

the Imāms.¹ The highest reward which he got was for his poem entitled '*Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl*' written in imitation of Firdausi's *Shāh Nāma* in extravagant praise of the Shāh. After Shāh Ismā'īl's death, he stayed for some time at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, and possibly by the latter's desire wrote a similar poem entitled '*Shāh Nāma i Shāh Tahmāsp*' in his praise. In the latter part of his life he repaired to India, being attracted by the liberality of the Mughal court, and was graciously received by Akbar.

Among the court poets of Shāh Tahmāsp, besides Qāsimī (who came over to India), there were many, of whom Shauqi Tabrizi (who followed suit), Zamirī, 'Abdī, and Muhtasham Kāshī, were conspicuous. Muhtasham poured unqualified praise on the Shāh, which not only was admitted but justly rewarded by the latter. The Persian biographer, Lutf 'Alī Bēg Azar, describes him as a panegyrist of the Shāh, and a prominent figure among the poets of the Safawi court.

شاه طاهر اصفهانی
 ۱۲۰۰ شمس از آفرینش و آفرینش
 ۱۲۰۰ شمس از آفرینش و آفرینش

¹ Cf. his poems

- (i) *Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl*
- (ii) *Kār Nāma*, a poem on the game of Chaugān, written at the request of the Shāh himself
- (iii) *Ismlu wa Majnūn*, dedicated to the Shāh
- (iv) *Khusrau wa Shīrīn*, dedicated to Sām Mirzā

[*Tuhfa i Sāmī*, U. L. C., Or. 648, fol. 28a.]

* *Atashkade*, p. 231

He is the head of the eloquent poets of that period and a panegyrist of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī.

Some specimens showing the nature of praises showered by him from time to time on the person of the Shāh are reproduced below

’ء گنتی ستان طہا ہاں کریم رزم اور
 تن پہل دمان کا حد دل سر زہاں لرز
 اگر بغور حسن آید دہند آستلی ہر س
 ز حسن ابروے درہاں اں ہر آستلی لرز

The king—conqueror of the world—Tahmāsp
 is such that from the fear of his battle
 The body of the fierce elephant diminishes,
 and the heart of the ferocious lion
 shivers

If the emperor of China comes with the
 intent to bow at his threshold
 From the scowl of the porter of that
 threshold he becomes

’تا بدن د تگاہ حل باشد
 دست د مت خدا یگان باشد

Ibid.

* Ibid

NOTE.—This is in poor imitation of Anwarī’s famous *qasida* in praise of Sultan Bāzār beginning

گر دل و دست پسر و کن باشد * دل و دست خدا یگان باشد
 یا عنصر کہ کتیری جسمی * ہر جہاں پادشہ تعلق باشد

شاه طهماسب، آنکه در سپهرش .
 همه و همه در هزار خان باشد
 آنکه از صد صد عدالت او
 درن چاؤس کاروان باشد
 و آنکه از هیبت سیادت او
 گرگ نامی مگ همان باشد
 چون همان سرس و سیمانی
 در دشت در رسم ادس و جان باشد
 هم در مگ نو یک زمان در جنگ
 همه و همه در هزار خان باشد
 من چنان سمع معنی امروز
 انوری مستند آن باشد

Till body be the monopoly of the hand of
 the soul,

That hand be the hand of the king ;
 Shāh Tahmāsp is such that in his army,
 Like Sanjar there are thousand *Khāns* ,
 He is such that from the dread of his
 justice,

The thief is the herald of a *Kāravān* ,
 And he is such that through the fear of his
 chastisement,

The lawless wolf is the dog of a shepherd ;
 When thou givest motion to the rein of thy
 steed,

Paralysis overtakes the body of man and
 genii ,

Thy delay for a moment to battle
Is a respite to a hundred thousand lives
I am such a candle enlightener of meaning
That Anwarī seeks light therefrom

Side by side with this he also wrote his famous *Haft band* in praise of the Imāma. Zamīrī is another who began his career as a poet in Shāh Tahmāsp's reign and produced volumes of secular poetry in which respect no other poet in the whole of Persia could compete with him.¹ Abdi is yet another who carried the palm in his lavishness of praise on Shāh Tahmāsp. Besides the usual *qos̄id* he wrote a long panegyric on the Shāh entitled *Būstān-i Khayāl* (the garden of imagination) also called *Hofīkhi-zūno*. A specimen from same will easily reveal the tendency of the Shāh's taste as also that of the poets at his court.

سر مدح شاهان السلاطین خاقان التتوایس شاه
طهماسب الهادی الموسوی الهادی شاهان الملک
ابدا -

شهادت شاهان و شاهان و شاهان و شاهان
که هم تاج و تخت است و هم ملک گز

¹ *Atashkadeh* p. 243. Cf. the statement:

ضمیمہ - اس میں کمال الدین حسین فرزند غلام شاہ ۱۰۰۰
(۱۰۰۰) غلامی لغات و فرزند حسین شاہ غلامی شاہ و گویا فر
اصلی ملک فرزند و گویا فرزند و گویا فرزند و گویا فرزند

² Or 2504 B M MSS

³ Ibid fol. 8a.

The emperor of Jamshīd's dignity of
Darius's throne,
Who bestows crown as well as takes
away kingdom;
Of the Prophet Muhammad's lineage (may
peace of God be upon him), of 'Alī's
grandeur,
That the back of mountain shivers like
sea for fear of him ;
The decorator of the crown of chief ship,
The uplifter of the banner of 'Alī;
Of exalted head, of proud neck, and bes-
tower of crown,
That the stars are his soldiery, and the
sun is his steed ;
Of the court of the sky, of the army of
stars.

The keeper of religion the emperor

Shāh Tahmasp

In the following the poet refers to a *mansab* which he got from the Shāh in appreciation of secular poems consisting of *qasid* and *masnawi* and *ghazal* all of which proceeded from his pen as a sequel to the Shāh's patronage. In the third verse, in which he observes that his poetry was up till then in abeyance he emphatically denies that it was due to any sense of shame for writing poetry

مندیان اعلیٰ حوستانم
مناسب تربی می یافتم
از آن منصب آورده نای بد
نظم عربیان ندانم کت
دل در نهان بود شعری سحر
نمودی از آن که نام و عار
تصاید ز کلکم بر آوردن سر
حوال آنکه از آن حرمانم تر
نوستم کار بدایع نگار
غزلهاے رینده ابدار
تنوع نوسم از اطوار نظم
حس طور راحت خوستر بازار نظم

When I horried to the sublime court
I got a most suitable *mansab*'

From that 'mansab' I brought to my hand
a bread,
I caused no discomfiture (discredit) to the
name of my dear ones ,
Albert my profession of a poet lay in hiding,
It was not due to any sense of shame or
disgust arising from my connection
with that ;
'Qasā'id' made their head from my pen,
Like fresh dates from a dry palm-tree ;
I wrote from my quaint-writing pen,
Well-tempered glittering *ghazals* ,
From the styles of poetry I followed,
What style was more fascinating in the
market of poetry

Still more reassuring are the lines addressed to Shāh Tahmāsp, in which the author emphatically declares, as his own reason for the praise of the Shāh, that the panegyric poetry in Persia was still, as it had ever been before, the order of the day :

۱۲ ر آکر در مدح شریعت و ائمه نور
 چهار انگیز شریعت و چار در مدح شریعت
 هر آکر نمودش مدح مداد
 نمودش چنان هم مدح اعتبار
 و اگر از سخن پروران کهن
 مهدی باب مدح اندر آمد سخن

همه کرده از نامور نامده ها
 بسدح سهاں گرم هنگامه ها
 مراحم خوش آید که دیوان من
 که آمد گرمی تو از جان من
 ز نام همه خون تو گرد حمال
 کلام ز دست بدین کمال
 اگر دی از نام بوفکر سعد
 خط ساعد نظم را کرد سعد
 کتب عمدی از نام طهیا-ب-س
 -حسن را زند بر ملک بارگاه

Every one who had lustre from the praise
 of a king
 Became the possessor of world like the
 blessed sun
 Any one whose poetry was not based on
 praise
 His worth was not much recognised in the
 world
 Again from the poets of yore
 The best chapter which proceeded was that
 of praise
 All commenced their records from the name
 of the renowned
 From the praise of kings they warmed their
 assemblies
 To me also it becomes agreeable that my
 poetic collection,

او پس از حد ساهی جهاندار بود
 ستربانست را سزاوار بود
 اگر حامی از مدح - امان - ن
 - ن را بدر و گهر داد زین
 برا کمترین بنده زینسان که *
 بود حای - امان - ن - ن
 حو مدوح من از همه برتر است
 مرا در - ن رکن دیگر است
 من البرز گستم حو خسرو سر
 که از حوصر نرد دادم خبر

Similarly Shāh Abbās, the Great, had his
 panegyrist, one of whom Shāhī Taklū his favourite
 poet, was weighed in gold for the following beautiful
 verse and received his weight for his reward

اگر د ن کسد ساغر و گردوب
 بطای ابرو - تان اوس

Whether an enemy drinks a cup of wine or
 does a friend
 Both do so at the arc of his tipsy eye-brow

At this other poets showed jealousy and wrote
 versified complaints to the Shāh, indirectly challeng-
 ing the merits of their lucky comrade. The one
 written by Mullā Lutfī, another panegyrist of the
 Shāh's court, is well-worth quoting

شاه د کرم جهان نور کردی
 ملک دل عالمه بهر کردی
 بهر که به ملک به برابر زده بود
 برداشتی و برابر در کردی

O king, thou hast illumined the world with
 thy generosity,
 Thou hast captured the kingdom of the heart
 of a whole world ;
 The poet who had become equal to the dust
 of the path (i.e., whose merits were
 as low as dust),
 Thou hast picked him up, and made him
 equal with gold.

/ Still more prominent was Hakim Ruknuddīn, popularly known as Hakim Ruknāī Kāshī, who composed under the pen-name '*Masīh*' which suggests with his profession as a physician * He was a competent poet and wrote over one lac (100,000) of verses according to the estimate of Persian biographers. On one occasion he noticed clear inattention

¹ Ibid, fol 134b

² Cf., Shifā'ī, another court-physician and poet of Shāh' Abbās, the Great. His real name was Sharāfuddīn, and *Shifā'ī* was his pen-name which, like '*Masīh*' is appropriately suggestive with his profession. This taste for fine phraseology and choosing homogeneous words was (as is already shown on p 64, supra), also prevalent at the Persian court, and was *de facto* brought to India from Persia itself, where, through slackness of poetical market, it did not develop so fully as it did in India under the liberal patronage of the Mughals.

and disregard on the part of Shāh Abās (vide supra, p 151) and consequently left his court for that of the Mughal, with the following verse addressed to the Shāh

گر فلک یک صبحم بامں گراں باسد سرش
سام بیرون مبروم حوس آفتاب از در

If the sky on a single morn makes its head
heavy against me
That very evening I walk out like the sun
from its dominion

He arrived at the Mughal court with his famous contemporary—Hakīm Sadrā of Shirāz—(who subsequently had his title of *Masīhuz Zamān* conferred upon him by Jahāngir) in the last days of Akbar and was received by Abdurrahīm Khān : Khānān who took them to the court. Jahāngir mentions them among his state physicians.*

✓ About the same time another poet Shakhī Isfahānī left his native town for Āgra to enter the service of the Khān : Khānān.* Two of his verses from

Āshkāda, p 239 [This shows the extent of the influence that the Mughal patronage in India had on the Persian court, and specially on the minds of its poets. It not only infused in them a spirit of loyalty but made them actually slight the patronage shown by the Safawī.]

Turuk-i-Jahāngir, p 19

It is to be noted that the rewards by Khān : Khānān exceeded a lac of rupees. In addition to this, the latter secured for him a permanent jagir from Jahāngir a great amount.

Sāqi Nāma which he wrote in grateful acknowledgment of his master's liberal patronage are worthy of notice :

دیا ساقی آن آب حیوان
 ز سر چشمه فلان علان بد
 سکه در ۱۱ کون ایکن دیوان
 که در نزدی بود او نه ظالم و نه شرافت

Come, o cup-bearer, give me that water of
 nectar,

Give me from the stream of the *Khān i*
Khāmān,

Alexander sought for it but did not get,
 For it was in India and he went in the region
 of darkness

In the face of such strong evidences there remains little doubt that the real cause of this lull in the activities of poets in Persia is not in what is so easily explained by a certain class of writers. It surely lies in some other quarter. A Persian poet of the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp wittily points out the reason of this lack, as resulting from the Shāh's attention being paid to calligraphy, painting, and riding, in the following verse :

Bayāz-i-Mirzā Asad Bēg Turkmān, MSS dated, Āgra, 8th Safar, 1146 A H, fol. 76a [My attention was first drawn to this work by Prof. A Qavi, Fāni, M A, of Lucknow University, who also very kindly permitted the use of his copy which I believe is rare]

یہ نیکو و خوش ترقی کردہ اند
کاتب و نقاش و ترزیعی و خیر

Without trouble they have made a good

process.

The scribe the painter the Qazvini and the
ass.

Another sober and somewhat stronger evidence of the lack of patronage to poets in Persia is to be found in the verse of Līfānī Shīrāzī who was a contemporary of Shāh 'Ismā'īl and Shāh Tahmāsp. On one occasion when he happened to go to Tabriz, he composed a *qasida* in praise of Amīr Najm II wherein he complained as follows

مے میں صافی و ارباب مروت ہے نوری
ز میں نہ مے و صراف مے میں ناسنا

My wine is pure, but the possessors of
sympathy are devoid of taste
My gold is unalloyed but the banker of
speech (judge) is blind

¹ Prof. B. de (q.v. Abg. from *Ahsanot Tawārikh*) Persian Literature in Modern Times, A.D. 1600—1924, p. 97

Cf. his remark

According to the *Ahsanot Tawārikh*, Shāh Tahmāsp was in his youth much interested in calligraphy and painting; he also liked riding on Egyptian asses, which customarily became fashionable and were adorned with golden trappings and gold-embroidered saddle-cloths.

Bayāzī + Mirzā Asad Hāg. fol. 57b, ut supra.

The above view finds further support in the utterance of another poet Kausari of the court of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great While extolling in the usual manner the virtues of the Shāh¹ in the masnawi entitled 'فرهاد و شیرین' (*Farhād wa Shīrīn*), the poet describes the dull atmosphere obtained in Persia, as compared with India, in the following plain and unmistakable language :

کم بوحی اهل ایران نارباب معانی²
 دریں کشور جزندار سخن دماغ
 که در گرم بازار سخن دیوانه
 سخن را قدر و مقدار ندانده
 معانی را جزندارے نمادده
 دانشد ار اکثر تا ارادل
 کسر را دل دود و دهر مایل
 درین دانش سخن بے قدر و مقدار
 بود امروز شعر و شاعری عار

¹ Cf

۱. در صفات شاه گیتی سخن شاه عباس خاد الله و ...
 جو سر انوار از الهی * لوائی دولت عباس شاهی
 جہاں را خواب اس آمد ندیدہ * یہود عانیہ شد آرمیدہ
 چنان د * تم شد کوتہ اخلق * کہ ناعد ظلم رالی آتیں دلق
 بدورانہ کہ ناد ار ہم بد دور * د مادر ظلم می راید ولی کور

[B M MSS, Or 342, fol 12a]

² Ibid, foll 11a and 12a

[I am grateful to my friend, Dr A M Nizāmiddin (Nizām scholar), for having copied these lines for me on my request from the R M codex]

نس كز بے خبریداری دریں دور
 چگونه شد بر ارباب - من حور
 كه در ایران كس ناید بدیدار
 كه باشد حسن معنی را خبریدار
 در ایران قلع گسته كام حاتم
 بهاند سد سوه هندوستانم
 همه طوطی مذاقان سكر خا
 بهاء هند ازان كردند ماوا
 بر آسم كوثری آیات خود را
 سده نازل ز عرش آیات خود را
 خو نظره جانب همان فرستم
 متاع خود به هندستان فرستم
 كه نمود در - من دانی دوراں
 خبریدار من جز حلقه خانی
 - من را ۱ به جز او نكند - ۱
 جهانرا بهر او آماده ۲
 بعالم هم كس را عدل علو
 كه از دست - ۳ ایس بهر دور ۴

Complaint' for the inattention of the people of
 Iran towards the possessors of meaning (i.e. poets)

1 His complaint is of special value as proceeding from one who
 was a favourite of Shāh Abbās and a writer of elegies on
 the Imāms. Cf..

'Mir' Āqil poetically, surnamed 'Kausarī,' was known for his devotion to the Imāms, which won him the favour of Shāh 'Abbās, I' [Rieu, Catalogue of Persian MSS in the B M, Vol II, p 673]

This emphatically disowns the theory sponsored by later Persian biographers and relied upon by Prof Browne that the Shāh extended patronage exclusively to those who wrote in praise of the Imāms.

patronage to poets.¹ The result of this appreciation was that the fire of poetic genius of the nation, which had for so long burnt low in poets under sullen despondency, sparkled out once more and lit up the horizon of that country. Simultaneously with it, emigration to India considerably diminished.² The most notable poet that Persia in this new era produced was Qā'ānī, who is justly regarded both in India and Persia as the last great poet of Persian language.³

¹ Cf —

- (i) Prince Hasan 'Alī Mirzā "*Shujā' us Saltanat*," Governor of Khurāsān—patronised Qā'ānī, Farūghī, and others
- (ii) Ḥājī Mirzā Āqāsī, "*Nāib us Saltanat*" Prime Minister of Muḥammad Shāh—also a patron of poets.
- (iii) Mirzā Taqī Khan, better known as "*Amīr i Kabīr*" eulogised by Qā'ānī in numerous "*qasā'id*" for his munificent liberalities to poets

² Cf other causes

- (i) Gradual replacement of Persian by Urdu, and its official recognition as the court language under the English
- (ii) Patronage shown by the Mughal princes and other nobles to Urdu poets.

The one prominent figure in modern Persian poetry, which begins roughly from the latter half of the 16th century A.D., is the epoch-making Qā'ānī the Shelley of Persia, as we may call him. No other poet is to be found in the whole range of Persian verse so rich in the vividness of imagery, the exquisite mastery over style, and above all, in the glow and verve of idiom and naturalness of simile and metaphor, as he. Qā'ānī's descriptions are some of the most consummate that exist in the Persian

The chief causes which appear more likely to be at the root, were (i) the attention of the Safawis to political, social and above all religious reform (which being of a dramatic and fanatical nature led to a general persecution of the literati in Persia) on the one hand and (ii) the patronage shown by the Mughal in India on the other. The Mughal

Main causes
which were at
the root.

language. Every line of his displays that fineness of detail and eye for close observation which characterise his writings. His *diwān* poems stand out not only in his own composition but in the Persian verse as a whole. His poetry is confined chiefly to Qasida, Khamsa, Qit'a and Mas'ûda on topics of love, natural beauty, and praises and satires of kings and dignitaries. A few lines from his Khamsa may be quoted here by way of specimen, which specially appeal to every student of Nature, a parallel of which is hard to find in the East among poets of Persian language but is frequently met with in the West in English poets like Tennyson, Shelley and Wordsworth.

دیده ترکس بیابان باز چو سحاب شد
 طرفه سبک دراع باز پر از تلب شد
 آب نرسد چو سیم باز چو سحاب شد
 باد بهار و - زمره فی آب شد
 نیم شب آن چه غمگردد ز بستن نوار
 باز در آمد بکوه رایت ابو بهار
 سبک نرد و بهشت سنگ از زیر کوهسار
 باز بهر سر آمد سرخ بهشت از سار
 غمخ و برالطیف سبک و کبک و هزار
 طوطی و طائرس و طایفه و سرخس و سار

into exile. Some went to Turkey and the Central Asian Provinces, but many came to India to which they ever afterwards kept on emigrating

given by a young English poet without hesitation. For example compare one stanza from the *Adonais* of Shelley

The stars and planets (as their journey time
The earth, the trees, the restless vapours
Fresh leaves and flowers deck the dead season a bier
The snows lie now more palely in every lake
And bend their comely forms in fields and groves
And the solemn aspect of their glory
Like emblem laden of their grace awake

Qiz's poetry with its wonderful ease and flow does not appear to belong to the era in which he lived, but exhibits a taste which prevailed in the early and the middle ages. His fidelity to nature combined with the charm of *Rudaki* and *Zahir* the patron of *Hakimi* and the vivacity and emotion of *Farrukhi* and *Manuchahri* preponderates in his composition, and in this respect he appears to be a poet more of the 17th and 18th centuries than of the 19th when he actually lived. Even in his figurative indulgence which is a characteristic of the 17th and 18th century poets, his supremacy over his colleagues is marked in so far as he has kept aloof from the vices rampant in their composition. His artistic display of the language and his metaphor and simile have a charm and a reality which do not exist in the work of modern poets, and were long displaced by frivolous attempts at word and meaning and the inordinate figurative touches which had disfigured the fair face of Persian poetry in the later age. In *Qiz*, therefore we have a revival of the middle and early poetry and he may be justly said to represent *Farrukhi*, *Manuchahri*, and *Zahir* in the 19th century.

being attracted by its superior literary support. It is by this process and the force of

Qa'ānī's elegies are also famous for their originality of form, and style of address. They are a deviation from the old established path in a more conspicuous form than is exhibited in his panegyric poetry. Some specimen lines from his elegy on Imām Husain are quoted below.

بارہ چہ خون کے دیدہ چہ آن دور و آ چہ
 از قم کدام غم آن کرم
 نامش چہ بود - یں ز شراد کہ ار علی
 نامش کہ بود نامہء وحش کہ - - فقی
 چوں شد مژدہ شد بجا دہ مار یث
 کے عاشق مصرم پنہاں نہ برے
 و آ کہ شد نہ دور چہ تمام وقت ظہر
 شد از دلو بریدہ سرش نی نی ار قفا
 سیراب آفتہ شد نہ کسی آنش نداد داد
 کہ آہ از چہ چہ آہ ز سر چہ نہ ما
 - - - - - یلے جزم دہ نہ
 کمرش چہ بُد ہدایت و یارش کہ بُد خدا

What rains? The blood, who rains? The eye; how? Day
 and night, why?
 Out of grief, what grief? The grief for the Sultān of
 Kerbala.

What was his name? Husain, from whose parentage
 was he? From that of 'Alī,
 Who was his mother? Fatima, who was his grand-
 father? The Prophet Muhammad.
 What happened to him? He suffered martyrdom,
 where? In the desert of Marya,
 When? On the 10th of Muharrum, secretly? Nay, publicly

such circumstances further strengthened by the ties of political and social inter relations uniting the

Was he killed at night? Nay in the day what hour?

At the hour of noon,

Was his head cut off from the front? Nay from behind.

Was he killed with his thirst quenched? No did none

give him water? Yes, they did,

Who did? Shīmr from what stream? From the stream
of death.

Did he fall a martyr to oppression? Aye had he (com-
mitted) any fault? None

What was his mission? Guidance and who was his friend?

GOD

Qā'āni says Browne is by general consent the most notable poet produced by Persia in the 19th century. He is one of the most melodious of all the Persian poets, and his command of the language is wonderful, but he lacks high aims and noble principles."

The latter remark of the learned critic is mainly due to the allegation that Qā'āni was of short temper and his pen did not desist from disparaging those whom he had once praised in his *qasīd*. In support of this contention Browne quotes one instance of Hājī Mirzā Āqāsi, who, during his *upward* Governorship of Khurāsān, was extolled for his piety and justice by Qā'āni. But when the Mirzā fell from power having incurred the displeasure of the emperor Muhammad Shāh, and his Ministerial rank and authority passed on to another noble *Lisān ul Mulk* Mirzā Tanī khān, better known as *Amir-i Kabir*, Qā'āni, for reasons not yet fully disclosed, discredited the former and praised the latter thus:

خوشه کاشب آه صلم بخورم سے یاد جم
کے گشتہ دولت معصم گوی جو کوشا را
(سبحی مندر نامور پہنچتے امیر دادگر
تو و گردنہ تاب و فر تو جس و ر مشرما

two countries that the court of the Mughal eventually became completely Persianised, and in fact every-

بجای ظالمه وقتی و تادیب عادلے تقی
که مومنان تقی کذب اوتکارها

It is pleasing tonight, O dear, that we drink wine in memory
of Jamshid,
Because the empire of Persia has become firm like a chain
of mountains,
Through the efforts of our reputed Minister, the greatest
Amir and the giver of justice
(From whom) the doors and gates of castles and fortresses
are kept wide open,
In place of a cursed tyrant, sat a just and God-fearing person.
That the pious believers take pride in him

Qā'āni purged the Persian poetry from that irksome hyperbole and laboured and pedantic style which the later poets, during the last two centuries before him had commonly adopted as their motto. His verses are full of pathos and spontaneous and natural tendencies as opposed to a terse and affected style formed by clever devices subtleties of figures of speech, and rhymed diction. His distinctive feature of writing, and the reforms he introduced in the art of versification, are summed up as follows

- (1) Abstention from fatuous and abortive exaggeration in his flight of thought as could be seen in the following lines reproduced here by way of sample

دردردنی که دم زنی از حزم و احتیاط
او کز دادای نقد این کز ادرا
میر از رضای شاه که حوید بکای و دل
آید بپایم هر دو پهنش - حقرا
بادش صبر نواز و ند اندیش ذاتوان
دولت جوان و حکم رواں یاربرد را

thing language, custom fashion food and dress,
was adopted after the Persian style and taste

نصرت لریں و طرح معیت تمع هندیں
خاند لہیں و پشت سہیں خصم لہرا

ولہ

ای صفت نو بہ ۱۰۰ نو از آنو سلس
وی بیخ نو و غنچه تو از برق میضا
گر صافہ تہر تو ۲ کوہ ہتہ
پیکلی صمد اندر موش غار ز غلرا
یک لہ مار است مرا ۳ حج ۵ بیکو
یک بیفہ غلرا است مرا موی ۶ اصلا

ولہ

ازاں عراب کہ گر بیفتد گیس شب تار
تند لہرا ہشتاد آب حیول را
(B) Remarkable felicity of expression and naturalness of his
simile and metaphor as contained in the following lines

ز خاک رسد لایا چو گدیں پیا لیا
پیری لایا ز لایا چو ہو غل سگوا
ز دلیس صاحبیا ہو آہیا حبیبیا
چو جی تہر آہیا رول ہو آہیا رھا
ہو زلف تاپہار او بچشم افکار سی
چو چشمہ کہ اند درضا کندہ مارھا
ہو ختملی ہرزو چو اموات ہرزو
ہمی ز پشت یکدگر کشیدہ صف ثلثا رھا
نوراز ہو بوستکی نشست اند قمریوں
چو قمریوں قمر غولت دوسرہیں ملارھا
ہلغہ رسد از زامست طوف جویبارھا
دیا گسندہ حیرت ز زلف ہویوں تروھا
ز سنگ اگر تہیہ چلی چہ عرارھا
پیرگاہ کہ نہی میوں لایا زلرھا
کہ چون عرارہ می چہ ز سنگ کورھا رھا

It is a fact, historically true, that the Persian language had not gained so complete a hold on the

- (iii) His pun and figures of speech are more spontaneous, graceful, and dignified in character, than those of his contemporaries who are content merely with the ornate diction and display of words at the sacrifice of good taste. A few instances are quoted below

آهوى گر و شى ار بس قناده نو یتیم
یتیم ساهتم پروردگار صبا را
ار آهوى مریس : تان آهوى زریس
تا خانه چو میتو کنی ار شاهد و یتیم
آهوى بگیر ایس کاهو تنو گیرند
آهو چه کنی اے همه شیراں تنو یتیم
به نوع انسان آسان بود مباحثش
که در به سایر انواع نوع انسان را
پهر کوکبه مرا توئی که کوکب تو
آهو کوکب آهوى آسان گرداں را

- (iv) Continuity and fulness in his description, with faithful representation of the subject, which is wonderfully attractive and appealing to heart

ای رفته پئے یتیم عزالین سوسه
بار آسوی مهر پئے یتیم دل ما
گر تیر زنی در دل ما زنت نه در آهو
در درم نمی در ده مانده نه یتیم
نه شهر کم ار در ده مانده تر ار آهو
یتیم دل ماکی اگر یتیم آهو
آهوى بیابان نه در عهد بیابان
مانیم که یتیم و یتیم در یتیم
اے آهوى انسی چه کنی آهوى و یتیم
دین طره که یتیم چه کنی یتیم
مادر تو گریم و گریم در تو آهو
ار یتیم تو عاقل شده ما یتیم تو یتیم

Mughal court, nor on the people of Hindūstān before

آهـرے بکیرایے ہمے کا ہو پتو گیلند
 آهـر چہ کئی اوی ہمے غیوات پور عینا
 ۶ - چورہ آهـر سے بچو آهـر چشی
 مہ روی و مہ گوی و مہ لای و مہ سا
 وک

ماہ و مہات آمد اے ٹری مہی ہر
 پرمیز و سرا سمد و سمانہ لایور
 و اجباب مطرب را پتو لڑ مہی پیرور
 زات پشی کہ تاکہ نکولی رسد از تر
 وای - لہرندہ کہ پاریند ز مہی
 پرمی بشب عید و لایورہی ہیکر
 پتو آرد ہند تاکہ مہواتم دو سہ سورہ
 نکولی پتو خواہم و آزمایش مندر
 مہ مہرہن اہم ماہ روز لہست کہ اہم ماہ
 لہرمان خدا ہارہ و لہر لہغ پیمبر
 دو روز حرام است بہ اجام و لہکی
 رنداکہ موات مہرہ بہ شب پندر سالور
 پشی لڑو سہ سانر تہوان مہرہ کہ تا صبح
 پرمی روزہ از کم و مہارہی روزہ از سر
 یا مہرہ ہدان گونہ پیند کہ ز سکی
 تا علم ہگر ہر تہوانی خلست ز سہر
 تا خلق نکونند کہ مہی مہرندہ نکالی
 آہے چہ خبر کس را از راز مہر
 مہ مہم اہم است و مہی و چہ مہم لہست
 دہن کتر لہاید بچو از مہر ہوانگر
 تاجور مہ و مہل و مہاتہ و مہی
 وای روزہ مہالورای و آن فکر مہر

- (۷) His productive, rich, and luxuriant style with his wonderful command of the language is more than what could be achieved by any Persian poet during the last two centuries

the advent of Bābur, which is synchronous with the

before him. This is evident from the sweetness inherent in his poetry, and his uses of verbs with their auxiliaries in distinctive and varied meanings, which have acquired the bearing and stamp of idiom. For instance, he uses the verb *آفتد* in so many flexible ways and with such clever turns that one cannot but admire his *istiḥād*. The following lines deserve special notice.

اے خواہد کہ از غلام تیرے میں
 ہرچہ سوسا زده در کلمہ تکرار آفتد
 ہے "مکتوم و شاک از حال آگاہ -
 می نہراهد کہ میں پرده ز اسرار آفتد
 ہم خداوند و ہم شاه از حال آگاہ -
 ایں دین رندی و تازی بسیار آفتد
 چون بر آفتاہ دہاں بار خدا ستار آ
 لا درم . ساجد او باید تار آفتد

(vi) He was a genius, and proficient in three languages, Turkish, French, and Arabic and made a free use of their vocabulary in his poetical composition, more than any other poet of Persia ever did before

(vii) He uses many redundant words (زوائد) with the air of a *Mujtahid*. Not only stray instances of same are to be met with in his poetry here and there, as is the case with other poets, but that he picks up a word and makes it a regular. e.g., cf., his long *qasīda* beginning with

آمد بہ نوم نوی یک سادہ کمر بر
 و ز کمر فروموشد دو کمر بر

He also invented and introduced *stammering* poems, depicting in words the halting articulations, stops and rapid repetitions of a habitual stammerer. It was a bold step for him to take in the 19th century, which no other poet ventured before him

Safawi persecution as it did afterwards

- (viii) The sweetness and melody inherent in his *gas da* is most remarkable and presents a new phase in the art of *gasida*-writing which originally belonged to *ghazal*.
- (ix) He widened the scope of Persian poetry by allowing *مجاز* and admitting obsolete words and new sets of compounds and constructions in his composition, a step which befitted him as an *امام* or a recognised leader of poets.
- (x) He is a great force in the field of 19th century Persian literature. His style characterised by freshness of expression, rejuvenation of thought, and naturalness of simile is unique in the life and literature of Qajar Persia. Nay the service rendered by him to Persian poetry as a whole is most remarkable and stands by itself.
- (xi) He revived the poetry of the early and the middle age and combined in his *gas da* the merits of Rūdaki, Farrukhi, Manūchahri, Anwarī, and Zāhir adding to them a charm all his own. He thus raised the standard and dignity of Persian poetry which had fallen so low in Persia since after the coming away of Abū T-Ṭib Kalīm to India and is regarded as the *last great poet of Persian language* a position justified by his prolific and many-sided genius.
- (xii) In prose his work "کتب پروردگی" written after the manner and style of Badi' al-Zaman is a reflection and a blot on his good name and does him no credit as a prose writer. It is full of *مناوی* anecdotes, and reveals his easy life and freedom of thought which he loved so well.

CHAPTER IX

He was by nature tender-hearted and was inclined more and more, as he advanced in years, towards Sūfism and renunciation. His devout, desire for the company of the spiritual world, and his aversion to this material world, too clearly had manifested themselves by frequent visits on several occasions. His frequent association to the tombs of saints, and his auguries with the Sūfis of the time, and taking matters of from the *Diwan* of Hāfiz on important state, domestic, and personal, was for the most part under the influence of the Indian atmosphere during his stay in Hindūstān, which was already a most noted country in the East for spiritual progress and the religious activities of its people. The Persian had found mysticism, since its very advent in India, a warm reception by the religious-minded populace, and this joint working of Muslim thought with the Hindū zeal for devotional practices, and spiritual purification of the soul, had created a sphere, however atmosphere, the effects of which no foreigner, be he, could escape. Jauhar, Gulbadan Begum, and other contemporary and later historians, have quoted instances of his pessimistic views. The one record by Abul Fazl is reproduced as follows.

Wave of pessimism in the latter part of his life due to the influence of religious atmosphere obtained in India

و اکثر اوقات بر زبان اندس - رت جهانمائی
 حلت آسیائی ذکر سفر ملک مداس - رگشت و بر
 هانت و اندید خویشت این معنی را که منائی
 خلاف عالم انتظام است مکروه داشته - مذکور
 منائی نمی شد درین ولا بدکر آن
 خوشوقت می - صافا که هر چه گاه باطن
 آن نفس آن پرتو انداخته بود اراده
 روزی - نفعی و کلام - انعام گیتی ستائی
 فردوس مکانی میفرمودند که حضرت فردوس مکانی
 در حال خود مذکور میفرمودند که فلان ملازم من
 مرا که هرگاه خواہستان گورستان فرشتن بنظر
 در می آید مرا میل مردن می شود و در تلوا آن میفرمودند
 که ما چون دہلی و مزارت آنرا مساعده می کنیم
 من او بدان می آید که چه خوش مداعت و در
 همان فرستکی که - رت - ملک بقا می شوند به -
 از - مدان خطاب می فرمودند که امروز بعد از فراغ
 عبادت - بحری حالت دست داده بود و - غمی این
 رباهی بر زبان داد

رباعی

یارب بکمال لایه خاصم گروان

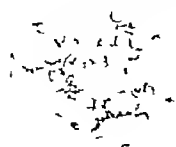
والف بهایقی خواصم گروان

¹ Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 435 (Maharaja Patiala edition, Lucknow 1234 A.H.)

از مقلد کار دل افکار شد
 دیوانه در دیوان و ملازم گردان

And often times passed on the holy tongue of the late king (whose abode is in Paradise), the talk of travel to the next world, and against his old pleasing habit, this talk which is opposed to the orderly government of this world, and which he did not like to be mentioned in his sublime assembly before, he was pleased with its mention in these days. Verily, since on the heart of the secret-knowing king, the effects of such thoughts had already cast their shadows, therefrom the king did one day praise and vouchsafe for the truthful utterance of the late conqueror, *Firdaus-Makānī* (Bābur), saying, that *Firdaus-Makānī* once in his assembly mentioned that a certain servant of his said one day, "Whenever the sleeping Yard of the Cemetery of Ghaznī comes into my sight, I am inclined to die." And after this, the king added, "When I see Delhī and its tombs I recollect the speech of the late king—how nice and true he said!" And near about the time when he was to turn his face towards the eternal kingdom, he addressed to some of his attendants, "Today, after the morning prayers, something happened, and the angel of inspiration put this quatrain on my tongue —

O God, with Thy plentiful grace select me
 for Thy nearness,
 Make me acquainted with the secrets of
 Thy chosen people,



Through my oppressive wisdom my heart
 was rent
 Call me Thy mad lover and free me from
 all cares.

The extent to which he had allowed himself to be led by Sufi ideas is determined by his deeds of wilful surrender to Sufistic dicta and in endeavouring to tread in the path of attaining spiritual solace and viewing this world and its affairs with the detachment of a recluse. Like an ascetic he occasionally gave up meat-eating and lived entirely on vegetable. In the hope of attaining that purity of soul and its secret link with the spirits of the saints which according to a class of thinkers is the exclusive prerogative of the devout abstainers alone. Abul Fazl writes thus of Humāyūn's avowed abstinence from all animal food until his second conquest of Hindūstān merely with the object of appeasing the saints and invoking their blessings for the success of his arms.

His E. text renders something like of an ardent recluse

و حضرت جهانمائی کہ از ابتدای اسی سفر مبارک
 به دعای و تقیم هندوستان قبل تناول حیوانی فرموده
 بتوحیات روحانی ۱۲۱۲-۱۳ می نمودند امروز کمال
 انسا با صغای آورد -

And his Majesty the Warden of the world
 who from the beginning of this auspicious

journey until his reaching Delhi and the conquest of Hindūstān, having abstained from all animal food, sought victory through spiritual attentions, evinced the greatest pleasure today.

Along with his abstinence from the animal food, he also used to take auguries from the *Dīwān* of Hāfiz,¹

¹ The practice of consulting omens from the *dīwān* of Hāfiz was prevalent in Persia also. The belief of the Persians in *tafawul* was so great that they gave the names of *Lisān'-ul-Ghaib* (Invisible tongue), and *Tarjumān-ul-Asrār* (Interpreter of mysteries), to Hāfiz's *dīwān*. Like the Mughal emperors in India, the Persian royal house also, in spite of their disbelief in the Sunni *tarīqat* and in Sūfis, used to take auguries from the *dīwān* on important private and official matters. The *Latīfa-i-Ghaibīyya* (a book written by a Persian noble and poet of the town of Dīrāb, printed at Tīhrān in 1804 A H) mentions several instances of such auguries drawn from *Hafiz* by the Persian kings. Cf—

- (i) Shāh Ismā'īl I, the promulgator of the Shi'a faith in Persia, who even went to the length of destroying the tombs of Sūfis, decided to consult Hāfiz's *dīwān* about the destruction of the latter's tomb. The result of this augury was the following verse.

جواز سر نهاده ایله در ارم
په نی فتم شاهم و سوگند میخورم

- (ii) Shāh Tahmāsp one day lost his ring, and consulted Hāfiz which opened at the following verse,

دلے که غریب نامه و درام جم دارد
ز خانه که دایم کم شود چه نم دارد

believing in their efficacy just as the ancient Romans used to consult Vergil when they were in doubt as to the proper course of action to be pursued by them. While yet in Cabul after his return from Persia he consulted the *divān* about his success in his impending attack on Hindūstān to regain his lost kingdom from Shēr Shāh. A detailed account of this augury and his personal faith in its efficacy is given in the following extract.

اعلان فریبست والا بصوب صواب ممالك هندوستان
 اوان فرمودند و آن نور پور در آن روزی یعنی حضرت

- (III) Similarly Shāh Abbās II, like Humāyūn, once took an augury from Hāfiz's *divān* regarding the conquest of Azarbaijān, of which the capital is Tabriz. The following verse was the remarkable response.

مراق و تراس گزینی بقدر عمر جان
 بیا که تریب پناه و دلت تریب است

¹ Ibid., p. 409

NOTE.—The difference in the Persian and the Indian method of taking auguries may be noted.—In India the popular method is to open the *divān*, after reciting *fatāha* with or without *du'ūd*, and invoking its blessing on the departed soul of Hāfiz. The first verse of the open page on the right being orally taken as Hāfiz's response to the query. If the answer is not clear the 7th line of the same page is the next best to be counted upon. But if neither gives satisfaction six further pages are turned, and the first verse of the 7th page is accepted as final.

شاهنشاهی را که که مدبر مدبری آنکسرت دران هنگام
 سعادت بیدای دوارده سال و سه ماهه دود و مقل
 کامل آن دررگ کودین ار احاطه احسانا افرود مقدمه
 پیش متوجحات مدوری و معدوی سالته فان های اقبال
 را احوال در آوردند و در روز دوحه عالی مدیوان له ان
 الفیه مدرك و ماول ستمند چون امر مایم از هرده
 عید و احوال مفا ماوله ظهور می نماید مندان
 دشارت از انیس و آفاق بهزار رفان بلند آواره
 می کردند اراده ای این راه دیدن ماریت در
 صحنه اولی که در صورت بهشانی دولت تواند شد
 مدراپی مده در فتم دود -

در حاله

دولت از مرغ مایون طله و ایله او
 را که ماراغ و رغن تهر مایون

اگرچه در مندان عالم معامله دانی این کلام
 حقه قرحان را در دولت و صورت صورت جهادانی
 دشارتی براید ممال مدونه به مایون آرای مقل سعادت

In Persia the method of opening the *dīwān* at random is more common, and the condition of reciting *fātiha* is not considered necessary, though *durūd* is generally read simultaneously with opening the book. Some take the first line on which the eye falls, be it on the right or on the left page, while others consider the first verse of the ode, which begins on the right page, as the proper answer.

شدند اما دوربمیان بارگاه دانس قصوی این نظم
 بدیع را نوید خلافت امری و مراد - الملتب به
 حضرت سید اهی دریافته برادر انتظار طمران علو
 این طایرف سی اقامت فرمودند و - رت جهلمانی
 ا - نام به عروالونقای عنایت الهی و - ا - ال به
 حیدالمتین سار آسمانی نمود با اندکی از مردم
 که به هزار کسک بهعاصدت بسیاری از جنود غمی
 که سوار مهاجران عیون نگارند - فرمودند -

In the above-quoted extract one could see the wonderful effect exercised by the miraculous verse of Hafez. Not only it filled the heart of Humayūn and his generals with hope but that the confidence it infused was so great that he marched without even adequate preparation with a number less than 8000 foot and cavalry all told ¹ on such a big mission as the re-conquest of Hindūstān.

¹ This original figure was substantially increased later and many more joined him on his way to Hindūstān. The warring factions in India jealous of one another's power were a great incentive to Humayūn, who entered the country unsupported and marched as far as Lahore without facing any great opposition. Other natural factors were the death of Salim the powerful Pathān King and the invitation sent to Humayūn by the disaffected Umara of Delhi and Agra to come to Hindūstān and occupy his father's throne. Almost all the tribes of the Pathāns were engaged in the civil war. It was therefore the most opportune moment for Humayūn to return.

One day, when he was out for hunting in Cābul, he expressed to his nobles the anxiety of his mind to regain his lost throne, and consulted them as to the advisability of leading an attack on India with the meagre men and material he could collect. Those who had lived in India in the heyday of his fortune, and enjoyed the comfort and wealth of the country, offered to consult the old method of divination, *viz.*, to send a courier ahead, who should go and return after taking down the names of the first three persons he meets. The king readily consented to this and sent three horsemen, instead of one, all in the direction of Hindūstān but separate from one another, who were to return immediately after meeting the first person each, and report to him their names individually. The first brought the news that he met a trader named *درخت* *fortune*. The other said that he met a traveller by name, *مراد* *object of the heart*. The third reported that he came across a peasant whose name was *معاذ* *auspiciousness*. The conclusion drawn was that the king should immediately start upon his campaign, unmindful of the number of his army, as success was sure to attend on him. He therefore put himself to this task at once and invited recruits who readily responded to his call under the said belief. Thus in the month of Safar in 962 A.H., he marched from Cābul, and was joined by many veteran soldiers on his way to Hindūstān.

His keen sense of giving justice to the poor against the high-handedness of the officials had led

to the invention of *tabl-i adl* (or drum of justice) which he had ordered to be placed in the outside corridor of the royal palace. Any one from the highest to the humblest in life could approach him without fear of molestation and use that drum to draw the attention of the king in person towards the tyranny shown to him by any official enemy robber or noble of the court. This mode of giving justice was appreciated and copied by his successors in India, the most notable among whom was his grand son Jahāngir. He had a gold chain measuring 30 *zira*¹ in length with 60 bells one end of which was tied to the parapet of the royal dome of his fort at Agra and the other to a mile-stone fixed on the bank of the Jamuna. Humāyūn's drum of Justice is

Invention of *tabl-i adl* a mode of giving justice which was later adopted by his grand son, Jahāngir, in the form of *saxir-i adl*

¹ A Persian yard.

Cf. Jahāngir's own statement

بعد از جلوس اولین حکمی که از من صادر گشت چنین زنجیر
مدل بود که اگر - مدتی موبله دلاز اعدای فریاد غواهی و فرور
رسی سم رسیدگان و مظلومی اهنگ و مداحی و زلزله آن مظلومی
خود را بدین زنجیر رسانیده شلک جنایه کردند تا صدای آن باعث
آگاهی گردد - رنج آن ایام هیچ نیست - از مقلی تلب فرمودم
زنجیری سازند عوامی سی فراس - در حصه رنگ - دوز آن
چهارم - ... یک سرش بزرگتره شاه برج کند آگره اسوار
ساعتی سو دیگر تا کثرت فریاد برده بوسه سنگی که نصب شده بود
معمول است -

[Tuzuk-i Jahāngiri]

described with its details of procedure by Abul Fazl as follows —

۱ و از مسموعات آید که در طبل عدل بود که اگر دادخواهی را با کسی مخالفت می شد یک بار بود که چوب در طبل میزد و اگر دالم او از عدم وصول عاریه بودن و نبودن آن کار میکرد و اگر مایهات او را ماله می کردند در درون دره می زدند که بودت دالم را آه آن آهون و اگر با کسی دروغی بود داشته چهار بار بود که صدای طبل را بلند گردانید .

And from amongst the inventions of his Majesty was the *drum of Justice* to the effect that if any seeker of redress had enmity with any one, he would strike the *drum* with the stick once, and if he was oppressed for not supplying fodder, he would do this act twice, and if his articles of subsistence were seized by some tyrant, or carried off by some thief, he would make the *drum* sound thrice, and if against some one he had a claim for shedding blood (murder of his kinsmen), he would cause the *drum* to sound loud four times

His generosity and benevolence were great, and his clemency for his brothers, who proved a constant source of trouble and a menace to the peaceful government of his empire, was extraordinary, and carried beyond

His general
character

the limits of prudence and justice which he owed to the State. He was a lover of learning and a patron of poets and prose-writers of his day. He inherited from his father the poetic genius which is displayed in his *masnawī*, *rubāī* and other metrical compositions. He was ostentatiously religious and his faith in providence was remarkable. In his days of fortune as well as in distress he did not lose the balance of mind and remained happy in his submission to the will of God. In exile when he was persuaded to embrace the Shi'a faith in return for the promised Persian help to reinstate him on his lost throne of Hindūstān he had uttered the following

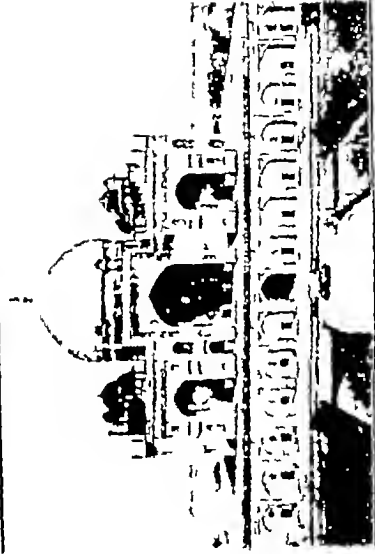
ما ہدیں خود قائم مقام ع م 'ا دل م' و ما را
 خنداں آرزوے پادشاهی عم' و مریحہ = باران
 خداے عزوجل است' دل خود را نہ آرزو : ام -

We are firm in our religion. We came and we do not even entertain much desire for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God the Great and the High. We have bound our heart to Him.

In battle he was vallant, and in peace his forgiving nature never yielded to any strict measures which the times demanded not so much through weakness of mind as through gentleness and nobility of spirit.

During his flight through the sandy desert of Sindh, when his men were almost dying with thirst and every one ran mad for water, news arrived of Shēr Shāh's troops' near approach. Humāyūn, at this juncture, ordered all his men, who were in a fit condition, to halt and engage the enemy in battle ; while the rest whose condition was sore were directed to move forward to a safe distance with women and children 115 in number. He kept the command of the fighting force directly in his own hands, and rode in front like a warrior giving heart to his tired, unwilling, and ill-equipped men. The enemy, however, did not appear on the scene, and Humāyūn rode back to the female section to communicate the good news of the enemy's non-appearance.

Even in his fall he was great, and showed the same elevation of character as he did when he wore a crown.



TOMS OF HERBYRES OLD DRILL

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